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JPRS-EPS-85-096

19 September 1985

19981113 108

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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19 September 1985

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## YUGOSLAVIA

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EFFORTS AIMED AT INCREASING GDR-USSR MILITARY UNITY

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 31, 1985 (signed to press 29 Jul 85) p 3

[Interview with Heinz Kuhrig, member of the Central Committee of the SED and vice president of the Society for German-Soviet Friendship, by VOLKSARMEE, date and place not specified]

[Text] VOLKSARMEE: The president of the Society for German-Soviet Friendship, Comrade Erich Mueckenberger, who is a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the SED, in his speech on the occasion of conferring the honorary banner of the Central Presidium of the Society for German-Soviet Friendship upon the "Wilhelm Pieck" Advanced Military Political School referred to the fact that the friendship organization is actively promoting readiness to protect socialist accomplishments and is striving to fortify the brotherhood-in-arms between the NVA and the Soviet Armed Forces. How will the society now become active in this area?

Heinz Kuhrig: Our work touches all strata of the population but the younger generation in particular. It is, therefore, not surprising that we, for example, devote great attention to educating the younger generation of military professionals toward friendship with the Soviet Union. Over and above this our daily activities are aimed at deepening the friendly relations between the population of the GDR and the Soviet brothers-in-arms. These activities include friendship meetings which are not seldom held with the participation of NVA members, or visits to memorials and museums commemorating the battle glories of the Soviet Army. It fills us with joy to hear Col Gen Heinz Kessler, the chief of the Main Political Directorate of the NVA, say at a propaganda gathering that the Society for German-Soviet Friendship is responsible for a great share of the strengthening of the brotherhood-in-arms between the NVA and the Soviet Army through its activities.

VOLKSARMEE: How is cooperation between political organs of the NVA and the management of the friendship society organized?

Heinz Kuhrig: Each year a specific plan which represents the foundation for the cooperation between political organs of the NVA and the management of our organization is agreed upon between the Main Political Directorate of the NVA and the Central Management Board of the Society for German-Soviet Friendship. Frequently, generals and officers of the National People's Army are good and

welcome assistants with respect to our political work all the way through to activities in residential areas. They are functioning as elected members full of initiative in many management boards of our friendship society. As for our part we supported the political work involving members of the armed forces, for example, by making it possible to utilize organization facilities as houses of the Society for German-Soviet Friendship. Although this is true for the entire year, the high point is the Week of Brotherhood-in-Arms. Also, for example, when the job calls for members of the friendship society and Thaelmann Pioneers to create wall newspapers, in German and in Russian, under the slogan "We Thank You, Soldier!" which are then handed over to units of the NVA and of the Soviet Army.

VOLKSARMEE: What is the friendship society planning for the "Week of Brotherhood-in-Arms 1986" and on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the NVA?

Heinz Kuhrig: The Presidium of the Central Management Board of our organization agreed upon a plan of measures which the society would take in the preparation and implementation of the Week of Brotherhood-in-Arms 1986 and the 30th anniversary of the NVA within the framework of preparations for the 11th party congress. Among others it is planned to hand honorary banners to troop components, to carry out effective propaganda measures--also with participation by referents of the Soviet Army and the Soviet Embassy--as well as to dedicate contributions to the event in FREIE WELT. All the way down to basic unit levels, political and cultural events will be organized, "meetings with brothers-in-arms," knowledge contests and sports comparisons. Participants at these meetings will include members of the NVA, the Border Troops of the GDR, as well as troops of the Soviet Army, reservists, future soldiers and officers of the NVA, as well as veterans.

VOLKSARMEE: The 10th Session of the Central Committee of the SED dealt with the broad popular movement involved in the preparations for the 11th party congress. Where does the Society for German-Soviet Friendship see its contribution in this area?

Heinz Kuhrig: Our work is a part of this popular movement to prepare for the 11th Party Congress of the SED. We see as our share our contribution designed to see to it that friendship with the Soviet Union--completely within the sense of the words coined long ago at the beginning of our society by Wilhelm Pieck becomes a matter close to everyone's heart even under the new aspects of political, economic and scientific-technical cultural and military cooperation.

The friendship society has more than 6 million members in this country today. Some 600,000 of them hold office in their organizations. This is a great force which intends to convert knowledge and experience regarding friendship and cooperation with the land of Lenin into fruitful actions in behalf of peace and socialism. The kreis and bezirk delegate conferences of our organization, which will take place in fall, will be held totally within the context of the popular movement--of the manifold initiatives involved in preparations of the 11th party congress. Among other things we want to provide advice on how the total possibilities of the friendship society, the collectives

of referents, the circles for the evaluation of Soviet experiences, the houses of the Society of German-Soviet Friendship, the cabinets of friendship, the many-faceted political materials available can be still better utilized for purposes of deepening the brotherhood-in-arms between the armies of both our nations.

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CSO: 2300/487

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

CONGRATULATORY TELEGRAM TO CEAUSESCU--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, Esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, I express my thanks for the cordial greetings and good wishes you extended to me on the occasion of my being elected to the office as president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. I wish to express my satisfaction with the successful development of relations and of cooperation between the LCY and the RCP and between our neighboring socialist countries and I also wish to express my belief that these relations will continue to develop successfully for the benefit of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities and the Romanian people and in the interest of peace and international cooperation based on equality of rights, social progress, and socialism. Vidoje Zarkovic, president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 Aug 85 p 5 AU]

MESSAGE OF THANKS TO CEAUSESCU--[Message by the Presidium of the Polish Academy of Science to RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu on his election as full member and honorary president of the Academy of the SR of Romania, on 12 July 1985] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, On the occasion of your election as full member and honorary president of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on behalf of the Presidium of the Polish Academy of Science and on our own behalf we extend to you cordial greetings for this high scientific title having been bestowed upon you. We congratulate you for your achievements in your theoretical and practical activities and in developing original and bold scientific thinking, which are highly appreciated by Romanian scientists and the Romanian people. They express their gratitude for your merits, the leader of the party and of the entire Romanian nation. We wish you new and fruitful results in your extensive and responsible party, state, and scientific activities for the benefit of science and the well-being of the Romanian people and of the entire socialist community. With sincere respect for you, Zdzislaw Kaczmarek, scientific secretary, and President Jan Kostrzewski. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Aug 85 p 5 AU]

CSO: 2700/208

ALBANIA

AWP PAPER VIEWS EUROPEAN POLITICAL UNITY AS ILLUSORY

AU301424 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 19 Jul 85 p 4

[Article by Paskal Milo: "Illusion of the European Political Unity"]

[Text] In recent developments in Western Europe, first priority has been given to the political "Union of Europe." This has become the daily theme of Western European propaganda and the main subject of discussions and debates at various meetings and the leading mechanisms of the EEC. Such subjects were the main topic in the latest meeting of the heads of member-governments of the EEC at the end of June in Milan.

The intensification by the Western European circles to achieve Western European unity is explained in the followings. The first phase of the creation of a "United Europe" was its economic integration, which was supposed to have been concluded years ago; it is now shaky and fluctuating. Their contradictions and misunderstandings in the fields of agriculture, industry, finance, etc, are many, which has put in doubt the very existence of the EEC. Despite the efforts by "United Europe," they have not achieved the rank of superpower in order to confront the United States and the Soviet Union in the struggle for hegemony and spheres of influence in the world and to balance the heavy weight of their interventions in international relations.

On the other hand, the Western Europeans are feeling the military inferiority against the United States which has deepened further their political dependence on Washington. The deployment of "cruise" and "Pershing-II" missiles and the obligatory involvement of some members of the EEC in the American "Star Wars" programs, have further increased the military hold of the United States in Western Europe. This means crossing out once and for all building a European "independent defense" or the creation of militarily "United Europe" as a third phase of the European superstate.

According to European experts, all the ills that have struck "United Europe" are caused by the nonexistence of a united policy, by lack of a political authority to put some order to the contradicting interests that reign in the EEC. The French Defense Minister Hernu, in the discussion



of the united Europe declared that "to talk about a European defense, first Europe itself should exist. Today there is no joint political authority in Europe: Hence, we cannot talk about a European defense."

The palliative political integration to save the "United Europe" from a catastrophe, are not new. Various projects for the political unification of Europe have been given priority to the member-countries of the EEC since 1969, and intensified in the beginning of the 1980's. In the June 1983 meeting of the heads of governments of EEC members in Stuttgart "the solemn declaration of the European unification" was approved and was followed by the project treaty of the political and unification of Europe by the Strasbourg parliament in February 1984. In June of last year the meeting of the 10 heads of governments in Fontainebleau approved the creation of a temporary committee, which was to study and recommend measures to be taken in order to achieve Western European political integration. Just before the Milan meeting, this committee published its report in which it suggested some institutional reforms, coordination of foreign policies, cooperation in the military field, etc.

The Western European circles were hopeful that the Milan meeting would signal the turning point of a new phase in building a politically "United Europe." The "French-West German" treaty on the unification of Europe was presented to the 10 members. The new element of this proposal was the creation of a secretariat charged with political cooperation. The core of this project treaty, and of the British proposal made by Prime Minister Thatcher, was the need to change the decision-making methods, elimination of veto powers and voting on the majority basis. The elimination of this clause met the resistance of the smaller partners of the community, who saw in it the way to defend themselves from the arbitrariness of the big "brothers." Misunderstandings were also manifested in connection with enlarging the jurisdictions of the European parliament and the ways to build a "United Europe." In conclusion even at the Milan meeting the 10 could not agree on a common denominator. The only decision reached was a new link added to the endless chain of organs to study the ways and forms for a political unification of Europe. They decided to call an intergovernmental conference of the EEC "member-countries to draft a new treaty for the unification of Europe to be presented at the meeting at heads of government level in December in Luxembourg.

The decision was a cover-up for their failure. The idea of a "United Europe" had suffered another fiasco. It was destined to be that way. The failures to build a politically united Europe do not derive from the rapport of the jurisdictions among the various organs of the EEC, but from the capitalist order itself that reigns in these countries. Imperialism cannot create such conditions that can permit to unite nations and states with varied historical backgrounds at equal terms, nations which have basic differences and unavoidable contradictory objectives. These developments attest once more to Enver Hoxha's conclusions in which he says "the hopes of the unification of this Europe made of varied nations and cultures, with varied economic interest and domineering ambitions, being in the European Common Market or in 'United Europe,' in Africa and other colonial countries, have no healthy foundations."

ALBANIA

AWP PAPER VIEWS CONTRADICTIONS ON EUREKA

AU311838 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 24 Jul 85 p 4

[Article by Sokol Gjoka: "'Eureka' Plans, Aspect of Interimperialistic Rivalries"]

[Text] At the beginning of April of this year France promoted the idea of drafting of the "Eureka" plan, which it presented recently at a Paris meeting of 17 West European countries. The Paris meeting, which was the first step in the implementation of the French plan and of the "Eureka" plan in general, aimed at increasing the potential and efficiency of the Western European capital in all fields, civil and military, in order to confront the pressures on Europe by the United States and Japan.

It is not accidental that "Eureka" was thought out at a time when Washington presented to Europe for "discussion" its own strategic defense plan, SDI. The United States asked the Western European countries for a total economic financial and military commitment for their "Star Wars," which in itself was another pressure and limitation of the political and economic activities of the countries of Western Europe. In the contest of inter-imperialistic contradictions, these countries did not want to subject themselves to Washington's discrimination in all fields. Thus, aiming to become a world superpower on their own from the political economic and military aspects, the Western European countries are trying to support "Eureka" which, according to them, "belongs only to the European community." At the high level meeting in Bonn in connection with "Eureka," Mitterrand expressed that "if there is no political and economic unity, Europe invariably will be behind the United States and Japan and some other countries."

The "Eureka" plan, as discussed at the EEC high level meeting in Milan is a non-military program, though it contains a military element. The plan's objectives are for a closer cooperation of the Western European countries and their private industries in order to achieve a higher level of technology, and thus enable Western Europe to openly compete in all aspects of American economic and military policies. The Western Europeans hope that their "Eureka" plan would counterbalance the American program of "Star Wars." This is the intention of the Western European

countries. First they are trying to eliminate difficulties encountered despite the heavy investments which are often exploited by American capital and to its advantage. On the other hand, at the moment, the Western European countries are behind the United States and Japan. Thus, they are making efforts to be competitive in this field, to strengthen their economic and military technology potential in order to be able to achieve in the future a superpower role in the crude interimperialistic struggle. Lastly, the drafting of these research plans for higher technology by the Western European countries is also aimed at dissuading the United States from seeking financial commitments by Western Europe for their "Star Wars" program.

Through the "Eureka" plan, the Western Europeans are trying to have their own strategic shield with their "Ariana" military satellites. Perhaps this solution could be a [European] attempt to dislodge itself from the American military dictates; on the other hand, this could be the involvement of the Western European countries in the arms race, particularly in the use of space for military purposes. This situation increases tensions and the danger of war becomes more immediate. We must have not even the smallest illusion that the "Eureka" plan, in opposing American policies from the position of Western European capital, is defending the interests of the people, or is defending the European continent. The "Eureka" plan is further aggravating the interimperialistic contradictions. The plan is in the contest for world supremacy, to gain advantageous positions in the political, economic and military plans. From such plans there is nothing in store for the people except oppression, exploitation and the danger of war.

CSO: 2020/217

ALBANIA

HOXHA ON GREECE, 'SUPERPOWERS' PLOTS'

AU301323 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 30 Jul 85

["Extracts from the Book by Comrade Enver Hoxha "Two Friendly Peoples"--Excerpts from the political diary and other documents on the Albanian-Greek relations. 1940-1984. The friendship between the Albanian people and Greek people is also example for the relations between other Balkan peoples"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 30 Jul (ATA)--Comrade Enver Hoxha closes his book "Two Friendly Peoples" (excerpts from the political diary and other documents on the Albanian-Greek relations. 1941-1984) with a political panorama on the course of events during 1984. Through incontestible arguments it is stressed among others that the development of events has proved the Albanian people right and not their opponents and enemies and the claims about the "opening up," of Albania towards the West are also refuted, etc.

- Our foreign policy, our stands, analysis and conclusions about various international events have completely justified themselves. -

This is the second to last day of 1984 Comrade Enver Hoxha writes. For us 1984 was the year of the glorious jubilee, the 40th anniversary of the liberation of our homeland and the triumph of the peoples revolution, a year of new victories in the construction of socialism, in increasing the prosperity of the people, in strengthening the defence and raising the authority of our country in the international arena.

In foreign policy, our country continued the line laid down at the 8th congress of our party: unrelenting and continuous struggle against imperialism, and first of all, against two imperialist superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, and their harmful policy towards other peoples, support for the Marxist-Leninist forces, progressive movements and the struggles of different peoples for national and social liberation, collaboration with neighbouring countries on the basis of mutual benefit, non-interference in one another's internal affairs and respect for national sovereignty. Likewise, also with the other countries which want to have good relations with our country. With the revisionist countries-cooperation in the field of commercial exchanges without any ideological and political concession or compromise.

Thanks to this correct policy of our country and the goodwill of the Greek Government, improvements have occurred in our relations with neighbouring Greece, some agreements of mutual benefit, which I think, will open the way to the strengthening of relations and the ancient friendship between our two peoples, were concluded. Our relations with Italy proceeded somewhat better, although there are possibilities to do more in this direction. We have good relations with Turkey and likewise with some countries of Western Europe, with various Arab and African countries, etc.

During 1984, apart from the plots and the usual sabotage actions of the imperialist superpowers, we have had to withstand not only the attacks and the anti-Albanian acts of the great-Serb chauvinists, but also those of Greek reaction and mainly of Greek bishops and the Vlorë-Epirote chauvinist circles, who have left no stone unturned to poison relations and hinder the rapprochement between Greece and our country. The pope of the Vatican, the Pole Wojtyła, has also taken part in the campaign of slanders and attacks against our country and people, and the building of socialism in Albania. It is not difficult to see in this a secret coordination with evil intentions between reactionary forces of great-Serb chauvinism, the Greek fascists and the centre of international obscurantism, the Vatican, but we are accustomed to these slanders, attacks and plots. We know them, have coped with them and smashed them mercilessly. And this is what will occur in the future, too.

Our foreign policy, our stands, analyses and conclusions about various international events have completely justified themselves. Life itself, the development of events round about us and throughout the world have proved us right and not our opponents and enemies.

- Our positive relations with Greece had great repercussions on international public opinion. We have always been for rapprochement and understanding with our neighbours.

But let me return to the positive developments which occurred in our relations with Greece, which had great repercussions on international public opinion.

I want to point out from the outset that what has been achieved, and of course, with goodwill, must be carried further with the revoking of the absurd law on the state of war with our country by the Greek Government, is a result of the consistent stand of our country based on the principles of our foreign policy for good neighborly relations with all the countries around us, on the basis of mutual benefit, non-interference in one another's internal affairs and without ideological or political concessions. The bourgeois-revisionist propaganda usually sets up a clamour about the "opening-up" of Albania towards the West.

How greatly mistaken are those who are permanently wrong in connection with our decided and clear-cut policy. We have followed this policy which we are following today from the founding of our people's republic.

We have always been for rapprochement and understanding with our neighbours. It is the others who have not shown understanding or have responded hesitantly to our policy of good neighbourly relations, thus, whenever the lofty interests of our homeland have required we have been in favour of such "opening up" and we will remain in favour of it in the future, but we will not be for "integration," "the selling out of the freedom and assets of the homeland," or "links and alliances," with aggressive political-military groupings of either superpower.

There is propaganda that we have been obliged to undertake this "opening-up" because of our internal needs, to get over the difficulties which emerged for us after our "breaking away" from China and to acquire modern technology. Such allegations are fairy tales. First of all, it is not true that we "broke away" from China. No. It was the Chinese revisionist and capitalist leaders who undertook anti-Albanian actions and unilaterally breached the agreements on economic cooperation with our country and they did this because we tried to convince them that they were applying a counterrevolutionary foreign policy and sliding ever more deeply into reprehensible actions and alliances with American imperialism.

We did not begin to trade with other countries this year or last year, but we have done so since the time we founded our new state. This trade has been based on the principle of mutual benefit, I supply you, you supply me, without credits or debts conditioned with political concessions, excluding here the period when we thought that the Yugoslavs and Soviets, and later the Chinese, were our friends, and as internationalist and socialist countries had the duty to assist us, as the small country we were, and we accepted credits determined to repay them in full, which we did in fact, and today we have no debts to anyone. On the contrary, they are indebted to us, because with their actions they behaved like betrayers, revisionists of Marxism-Leninism, and sabotaged and damaged our economy. Their credits represented a very small percentage in the economic and financial potential of our country.

Now, as I said, they are bringing up the improvement of our relations with Greece as an example of our "opening-up" towards the West. We have always been in favour, indeed, we have sought and have waited patiently for the establishment of good neighbourly relations with that country, because such a thing is in the interests of our two peoples. Now, when the Yugoslav chauvinists, who are inveterate anti-Albanians, in unison with imperialism, international reaction and every other fascist force, are leaving no stone unthrown against socialist Albania. Leaving no plot unhatched in order to hinder our constructive work, we were obliged to and took the necessary defensive measures. We were not going to allow the Titoites to act as they liked with our rights, to try to isolate us, to sabotage us as they did even by holding up our trucks which were transporting goods to the markets of Western Europe, and so on. This would have been impermissible. So, in these circumstances we discussed and reached an agreement with the Italian Government on the establishment of the ferry line for the transport of our goods to the countries with which we have agreements, we talked and achieved positive results with

the Greek Government about the signing of a number of agreements of mutual benefit, we decided on the opening of the border point of Kakavia, as a friendly gesture, etc. The lofty interests of our homeland called for these measures and we took them without permitting any concession or making any compromise to the detriment of our ideology and policy and without any infringements or interference at all in the internal affairs of others.

During this year the Greek reactionary forces, the representatives of the Orthodox Church, the Vorio-Epirote reactionary circles and their supporters, the American imperialists, caused us worries. They exerted pressure, organized provocations, going so far as the blowing up of vehicles of our embassy in Athens and threatening demonstrations in front of it under the pretext that the Greek minority in Albania were being badly treated, etc. At these grave moments, certain circles, including the Titoites, hoped that we would fall into the trap of reaction, that is, would break off diplomatic relations with that country. But we did not fall into this trap. We knew that such situations were temporary, that they expressed the confusion and defeat of reactionary anti-Albanian forces, both Greek and foreign. They were not and could not be the work of the friendly Greek people, together with whom we have fought more than once for the same aims. And we were not mistaken. After all this furious storm came the calm days when the Greek Government itself took the first steps for correct relations, for rapprochement and good neighbourliness. On this basis and in joint agreement these results which I mentioned above were achieved. All this was in the interests of the Greek people and in the interests of our people.

Positive for us is the fact that the Greek reactionary forces, the bishops, the most reactionary representatives of the Vorio-Epirote circles, and their supporters and backers in the United States were isolated, the honest and progressive Greeks rejoice. The Yugoslav Titoites, who encouraged and expected outbursts between Greece and Albania, were isolated and suffered fiasco, their propaganda in the international arena, "Albania is opposed to peace and represents the warmongering country in the Balkans," etc, suffered complete defeat.

Now the Greek press is writing that the slanders of reactionary circles about the mistreatment and lack of rights of the Greek minority in Albania are without foundation, and that the Greek minority in our country lives in normal conditions, enjoys all constitutional rights, is happy, etc.

- We do not consult anybody about what we do or what we intend to do in the interests of our country and our socialist homeland. -

Neither do we forget the lessons of the bitter history of our country. More than once in the past the bourgeoisie, the reactionary chauvinist and fascist groupings of neighbouring countries have collaborated for the partitioning of Albania in spheres of influence and have clashed when one of them has attempted to violate "the joint secret agreement about

Albania." Although many years have passed since that time and Albania is no longer what it was and does not allow anyone to "interest himself" in its fate, the policy of these reactionary circles towards socialist Albania has not undergone any great alteration.

We also notice that our policy of good neighbourly relations with mutual benefit towards this or that country arouses jealousy and anger in this bourgeoisie and these reactionary circles, as though Albania were their "domain." The Yugoslav chauvinists are displaying such astonishing jealousy and anger over the further improvement of our relations with Greece and Italy and the strengthening of our relations with a number of European countries, the countries of the Arab world, and so on.

Why is this surprising to them? This is their own affair. Why are they disturbed? We have not consulted, do not consult and never will consult Belgrade or any other capital for that matter, about what we do or what we intend to do in the interests of our country and our socialist homeland.

Once again they are nurturing and propagating vain hopes, as they did when we put the Khrushchevites and the Chinese revisionists in their place, that the day has come for "someone else" to plant his feet in Albania, for Albania to fall under the control and influence of the Americans or the Soviets, the French, the British or the Germans, not through force, but through "kindly" offers "on favourable terms" to assist us to "progress," to enable us to "correct" and "modernize" our industry and economy, and so on and so forth. We have no need for that kind of "modernization" about which Tito and the Yugoslav Titoites boasted so loudly, for that which the Chinese revisionists talk about now, or the bourgeoisie and the other revisionists suggest, modernization through credits, through strangling debts accompanied with humiliating and enslaving conditions. We will never place such chains around the necks of our people. Today we have a built up and advanced economy capable of marching ahead with its own forces, hence, capable of being modernized and equipped with advanced technology from its own income secured from its own goods of high quality which are required all over the world.

- No one will ever gain the right to have bases or military concentrations on Albanian territory. -

The question of Albania and its future is discussed also among the leading circles of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. Both of these groups, time after time urge this or that country to offer us "sincere aid" to emerge from the difficult situation. They are pitying the rider because his legs hang down.

We tell all short-sighted dreamers bluntly that neither one nor the other, neither the Soviet social-imperialists nor the American imperialists, or any one else can ever again plant their feet on Albanian territory, will ever again gain the right to have bases or military concentrations here. We have our experience with foreign military bases. For as long as the Soviet military base in our country, established in the framework



of the erstwhile socialist camps, had purposes of defence, we accepted it, but when Khrushchevite revisionism bared its aggressive imperialist teeth we denounced it and got rid of it. In this case we performed our internationalist duty. It behooves the neighbouring peoples to act against the foreign military bases which they have on their territories and which are directed against neighbouring peoples and countries, otherwise they themselves face great dangers.

Their direct and indirect pressures, as well as those which they exert on us through their tools, whoever they may be, no longer have any effect. We are afraid of no one, we are a threat to no one, and likewise, we allow no one to threaten us, but we have demanded our rights, will go on demanding them and will defend them to the end. Those who brought us death and devastation during the second world war, who caused us material damage, must answer for this materially. Those who are keeping our stolen gold must return it to us. The enemies of socialist Albania and its ancient, heroic and indomitable people are wearying themselves in vain waiting for such an "opening up" which would lead to our falling into their clutches.

- Albania has chosen its own course and nothing,  
no force can turn it from this course. -

We shall forge ahead. We have achieved our victories which have become the basis for our further advance with our own forces, with our own assets, with the sweat and knowledge of our own sons and daughters. And this is how we will advance in the future, too, because today we are stronger and have more experience than in the past, we are always on the up and up, we have our glorious party, which leads us with Marxist-Leninist wisdom and determination, we have our working class, a sound intelligentsia, a healthy, revolutionary youth, we have a marvelous people. Full of optimism, we are preparing the 8th five-year plan of our economic and cultural development which, precisely because of the conditions in which we live and work, is based entirely on our internal material, financial and human resources. Albania has chosen its own course and nothing, no force, neither the blandishments and promises, nor the pressures and plots of superpowers and their allies and vassals can turn it from this course.

CSO: 2020/217

ALBANIA

NEW HOXHA WORK ON SCIENCE REVIEWED

AU050948 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 5 Aug 85

["Always Valuable Lessons in the Foundations of the Albanian Science-Studying the Collection 'On Science' by Comrade Enver Hoxha"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 5 Aug (ATA)--The collection entitled "On Science," which came off the press recently holds a special place in the series of Comrade Enver Hoxha's works, Prof Aleks Buda, president of the Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania writes in the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT. In this work, too, one is impressed by the universality of interests, of the fields of which Comrade Enver Hoxha makes wonderful analyses and synthesis, a feature of the great thinkers of mankind. His attention of an observer and scholar was concentrated on many fields on the problems of life, beginning with the major problems of national fundamental theoretical value down to the creative spheres of a scientist.

Relevant has been and always will be the task set by Comrade Enver Hoxha that in the face of the scum "prepared by the international bourgeoisie, in the context of counterrevolutionary global aims of the imperialist strategy, it is imperative that the social sciences, under the leadership of the party, should play an ever greater role in defending Marxism-Leninism, in opening up perspectives and bringing better into light the experience of our socialist revolution. Comrade Enver Hoxha himself, the author continues, enriched the Marxist-Leninist theoretical-scientific treasury with works such as "Imperialism and the Revolution," "On the 7th Five-Year-Plan," etc.

Through his concrete teachings Comrade Enver Hoxha made his contribution to the attainment of new achievements regarding the clarification of many major fundamental problems of our national history. Of special importance in this direction have been the teachings where he emphasizes that important methodological principle according to which the much complex, but otherwise interesting central problems of these fields, cannot be solved by detaching them from the entire history of the people. Only by combining the results from the analysis in special scientific fields we may make the generalisation of the real processes and provide the explanation for the phenomena which have been considered as inexplicable by the foreign scientists. Such are the major problems of our ethnogenesis, of the formation of the Albanian people, of their language and culture.

In fact, the results of many years of research carried out in different fields, on the basis of these instructions, combined with the historic framework, revealed that here we have not to do with "miracle," or any fortuity, but only with consequences from the operation of objective and subjective factors, of the laws of history. The assessment that Comrade Enver Hoxha makes of our people in his work as an inexhaustible source of strength, who possess all the moral and intellectual possibilities to raise their culture, science and art to an increasingly higher level does not signify that he has not evaluated to the same extent the major progressive scientific and cultural values created by other peoples in the course of their history, particularly those created by the neighbouring peoples with whom the Albanian people have had constant cultural links.

The orientation that science should serve the solution of the technical and technological problems of production self-reliantly is well known. Due to this we have climbed heights we could not imagine in the past, from the extracting and processing industry to the machine building industry and the hydro-energetics, from the chemical industry to information and automation, etc. However, it is a fact that the demands increase constantly from the present to the last perspective of the century, and the beginning of the new millennium. The scope of interest shown by Comrade Enver Hoxha has also served this perspective, as it ranged from particular branches of science and narrow disciplines to the most modern theories of our time, the problems of fundamental theoretical disciplines, the need for extending the research in these fields.

The achievements in these fields and our entire technical-scientific revolution are today among the most convincing proofs which confirm the major inspiring impulse that the thought of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have given to the solution of the problems and the fundamental tasks of our epoch the decisive tasks for the cause of revolution and socialism.

Great processes, major events need some time to become clear and distinct in their dimensions. The 40 year road under the guidance of the scientific thought of Comrade Enver Hoxha are a clear proof of the effectiveness and the major radiance of this work, the author says in conclusion.

CSO: 2020/217

ALBANIA

ZERI I POPULLIT CONDEMNS SOUTH AFRICAN STATE OF EMERGENCY

AU301057 Tirana ATA in English 1000 GMT 30 Jul 85

[Text] Tirana, 30 Jul (ATA)--The newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT condemns the state of emergency proclaimed in South Africa by Pretoria regime as an act which gives full competences to the racist-fascist forces, the army and police to perpetrate new even more barbarous crimes, to arrest and open fire against any "suspicious element," to organize systematic campaigns of house searches and raids, to establish curfew and introduce censorship on press.

The recent bloody massacres, the newspaper stresses, clearly show not only the racist and criminal nature of South African regime but also the true face of their imperialist supporters. It is precisely the United States and the other capitalist countries which arm the military-police machine of Pretoria and incite it to carry on with its bloodshed. On the other side, the huge investments by the monopolies of the United States, Britain and other countries in all the spheres of South African economy are another factor which encourage the racist Pretoria authorities to carry out fascist acts against the Africans.

Today when the proclamation of state of emergency has aroused a great and legitimate anger among all the progressive and freedom-loving forces in the world, the chiefs of American imperialism and other imperialists pose as if they are worried and even go so far as to make a "criticism" of apartheid, as the American Secretary of State Schultz did recently. But in reality these efforts are designed to suppress the anger that the close links with Pretoria racists has aroused among these forces, to clear them from any responsibility they have for these crimes.

CSO: 2020/217

ALBANIA

TEN YEARS PROVE HELSINKI DOCUMENT 'MIRAGE'

AU011019 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 1 Aug 85

["Ten Years of Insecurity in Europe--article of the Newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 1 Aug (ATA)--On 1 August 1985, 35 European countries, together with the United States and Canada, signed a document, the so-called "Helsinki Charter," writes the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT in an article under the above title. Ten years after this document was endorsed, that beautiful mirage has faded away and its place has been taken by the bitter reality dominating today the picture of international relations, a reality which is characterized by the insecurity and the suffocating duet of superpowers in most of international events.

Little time was needed to notice that the adoption of this document, which had not the value of a treaty and whose implementation "depended exclusively on the good will of each of its signatories," was done for other purposes. Since then, a number of conferences and endless rounds of talks, held allegedly to discuss the issues presented and approved in Helsinki, were turned into arenas of bargains and demagogical imperialist-revisionist debate. All these so-called forums of peace and security have not succeeded in yielding any result, the article stresses further on. Time confirmed the correctness of the viewpoint held by the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian state regarding the problem of security in Europe, according to which peace and security on the continent cannot be achieved through the bargains between the two superpowers and the aggressive blocs they manipulate, NATO and Warsaw Treaty.

Today, we see more clearly than ever that the path which the two superpowers took and to which they are actually sticking is that of political militarist course and of the further militarization of the economy and life, the path of the frenzied armament race regarding both the nuclear weapons and the further sophistication of the conventional arms, the creation of new types of missiles, the intensive extension of armaments in land, sea, air and even in space, in preparation for the "Star Wars." This dangerous course, which is far from "lessening of tensions," enhances the danger of plunging mankind into a world imperialist war. Today the consequences

of this dangerous course are to be seen particularly in the tense situation existing in Europe. The situations created in Europe after the signing of Helsinki document have put the governments and countries of the continent in even more difficult position which cannot be abandoned even through the Stockholm conference, as we are witnessing today.

The conjunctures created by the present policy of the superpowers in Europe, have also affected both the Balkans and northern Europe just as the other regions of the continent.

Still more the "spirit of Helsinki" created no kind of atmosphere of understanding and mutual confidence among the European countries. On the opposite, the articles of the charter on the "European security and understanding" were turned into articles of feuds, interferences in the home affairs of the other countries, the fostering of chauvinist feelings and the spreading of a liberal spirit that allows the big powers to play with the destinies of the European peoples and carry into effect unworriedly the tactics of destabilization. This spirit did not help the peoples to prosper, as the champions of nonalignment trumpeted and are trumpeting.

As Comrade Ramiz Alia has stressed "Albania is a European country and as such is vitally interested in what is occurring in this continent. Our stands towards Europe and its problems are well known. The divisions and splits in Europe, the frequent tensions and confrontations between various countries of this continent have their source in their participation in the military blocs of the superpowers."

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ALBANIA

AWP ORGAN ON HIROSHIMA ANNIVERSARY

AU061057 Tirana ATA in English 1000 GMT 6 Aug 85

[Text] Tirana, 6 Aug (ATA)--Forty years ago, on 6 August 1945, the American imperialists committed one of the most barbarous crimes in the history of mankind, by dropping the first atomic bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. Three days later, they repeated this criminal act, which shook all the peoples in the other Japanese city of Nagasaki, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT writes in an article.

Forty years have gone by since that day but the lessons drawn from that event are relevant and have to do above all with the vigilance and the struggle that should be waged against those aggressive imperialist forces which are making preparations today to plunge mankind into the flames of new wars, including the nuclear war.

In the speech delivered on 5 May at the meeting with members of martyrs families and veterans of national liberation war, the first secretary of the CC of the PLA, Comrade Ramiz Alia said: "Regrettably we see that many black clouds fraught with aggressive wars have been gathered on the world horizon. Many phenomena and events remind us of the period which led to the outbreak of two world wars. New pretenders are seeking to establish their own domination in the world. The imperialist and social-imperialist superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, with their open hegemonist policy of aggression, are seriously threatening to start a new world conflict."

The United States of America and the Soviet Union are unrelentingly pressing ahead with this policy, edging the world to the brink of a nuclear tragedy. The two imperialist superpowers have not only equipped their war machines with the most sophisticated weapons and increased their military budgets to unimaginable levels, but they have also filled Europe and other regions with missiles and other atomic weapons which they use to exert blackmail on and intimidate the freedom-loving peoples and countries.

Both superpowers are making much clamour about allegedly halting the arms race and reducing the nuclear weapons, about the establishment of "nuclear free zones" etc, but this is aimed at lulling the peoples into

sleep and covering up their nuclear arms race and war preparations. The endless talks between them in Vienna, Helsinki, Stockholm, Geneva, allegedly on disarmament constitute a dangerous deception through which the superpowers seek to hide from the peoples the grave reality of constant political military threat and of atomic war they are preparing.

The events show today that peoples all over the world have expressed and are expressing their powerful and mass opposition, their resolute protest against the policy of imperialist war and aggression pursued by the two superpowers.

This struggle is directed not only against the deployment of American and Soviet nuclear missiles on European soil and elsewhere, but also against all kinds of nuclear weapons, against all aggressive military bases of superpowers, against their suffocating military-build-up. No talk can be made of real defence of freedom, independence and sovereignty of the peoples and countries in the world, as long as the superpowers have their bases in many countries of the world, ZERI I POPULLIT writes in conclusion.

CSO: 2020/217.



ALBANIA

# LEADERS ATTEND HARVEST COMPLETION CEREMONIES

AU310943 Tirana ATA in English 0830 GMT 31 Jul 85

["Red Flags of Central Commission of Socialist Competitions Given to the Districts of Tirana, Lushnje, Durrës and Permet"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 31 Jul (ATA)--Hundreds of cooperativists of the agricultural economies of the District of Tirana, working people of the work and production centers, mechanisers, cadres and specialists attended the meeting organised in the capital yesterday afternoon, on the occasion of the successful conclusion of the wheat harvesting and threshing campaign.

Attending were also the members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and minister of home affairs, Comrade Hekuran Isai, the first secretary of the district party committee, Piro Kondi, and others.

Amidst the joy and applause of those present, Comrade Hekuran Isai took the floor. He conveyed to the cooperativists, working people of agriculture and all the working classes of this district the greetings of the Central Committee of the party, the Council of Ministers and the first secretary of the Central Committee of the party Comrade Ramiz Alia personally. After congratulating them for the success he pointed out that with the attained results, the intensified area revealed its strength, something that speaks of the great reserves to increase production still more and that this zone be always in the van. The revolutionary movement "standard bearers in implementing the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha" which has already been spearheaded far and wide the country, Comrade Hekuran Isai said, is fruit of the 40 years work of the party to march as revolutionaries on the road it leads us to and that has indicated with his work Comrade Enver Hoxha, who is always close to us, in every victory we attain, he is close to us in every family and work front, because we march with the party in the van, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head of the road of Enver. In conclusion, Comrade Hekuran Isai stressed that the tasks set by the 12th plenum of the Central Committee of the party require from all of us to pitch into action to fulfill in all indexes the plan of this year and of the whole 5-year plan.

A meeting was organised in Lushnje on the occasion of the successful conclusion of wheat harvesting and threshing campaign. Also attending were the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Rita Marko, the first secretary of the district party committee Xhemal Dauti, the Vice-Minister of Agriculture Stavri Rista, etc.

Amidst the enthusiasm of those present, Comrade Rita Marko took the floor. He greeted the working people of Lushnje District in the name of the Central Committee of the party, the Council of Ministers and the first secretary of the Central Committee of the party Comrade Ramiz Alia. After evaluating the success they had achieved, the high yield in all the area sown to wheat, he said that this is a clear expression of the determination of the Lushnje cooperativists and working people to march ahead on the road of the party, applying the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Such a ceremony was also organised in the city of Durres. Attending it were the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and first secretary of the district party committee Comrade Muho Asllani, the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and Minister of Peoples Defence Comrade Prokop Murra and other comrades.

In the name of the Central Committee of the party, the Council of Ministers and of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the party Comrade Ramiz Alia personally, the working people of agriculture of this district were greeted by Comrade Prokop Murra. He pointed out among others their untiring work, discipline and organisation, high sense of responsibility and application of science and advanced technology, thus implementing the tasks laid by the party for the intensification of agriculture, especially the growth of bread grains production.

The overfulfillment of the plan of wheat production marks the realisation of one of the main objectives of the revolutionary movement "standard bearers in implementing the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha."

Amongst the joy on the success for the overfulfillment of the plan of wheat production, cooperativists, mechanisers and outstanding brigade leaders, specialists and cadres of the agricultural economies and working people of economic enterprises gathered on 30 July in a ceremony organised in Permet City. Attending it were also the first secretary of the district party committee Sulejman Pepa and other comrades.

The Vice-Minister of Home Trade Gezim Koni congratulated those present for the success they had achieved, fruit of the political understanding of the tasks, of the intensive work of the cooperativists and other working people of agriculture led by the communists.

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

USSR-ALBANIAN FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY--A meeting of the Soviet-Albanian Friendship Society has been held in Moscow. It was devoted to the 40th anniversary of the first congress of Albania's democratic front. [Text] [Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 5 Aug 85]

COMMEMORATION OF ANTIFASCIST WAR EVENTS--In the midst of revolutionary enthusiasm, in various districts of the country events of the antifascist national liberation war were commemorated. The people of the region of Devoll in the district of Korce celebrated the 42nd anniversary of the founding of the Fuat Babanio partisan batallion and the 43rd anniversary of the creation of the Morava partisan fighting unit. At the rally organized on the occasion there attended member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party Comrade Pali Miska; first secretary of the district party committee, Dhimiter Petro; chairman of the district Executive People's Council, Fatbardh Harizi; and other comrades. [Excerpts] [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 4 Aug 85]

DELEGATION MEETS BURKINA FASO'S PRESIDENT--Tirana, 31 Jul (ATA)--The chairman of the Council of the Revolution and president of Burkina Faso, Thomas Sankara, received these days the delegation of the Labour Youth Union of Albania (LYUA) led by the secretary of the Central Committee of the LYUA, Haxhire Zhani, which paid a friendly visit to Burkina Faso. The reception passed in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0945 GMT 31 Jul 85]

CSO: 2020/217

BULGARIA

MAJOR GENERAL MARKOV INTERVIEWED ON BORDER GUARDS' DAY

AU281410 [Editorial Report] Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian on 27 August 1985 marks the Bulgarian Border Guards' Day with a 750-word interview on pages 1 and 2, with Major General Marko Georgiev, given to "NARODNA ARMIYA correspondent."

Maj Gen Georgiev states at the beginning of his interview, that the "Bulgarian border guards are part of the armed forces and of the country's security forces, who, side by side with our brothers in arms--the worthy Soviet border guards and other soldiers of the Warsaw Pact--are honorably fulfilling their international duty and vigilantly watching over their milita~~nt~~ post." He describes the duties of the border guards and praises the exploits of several commanders, officers, and soldiers of the border guards without going into detail to explain what exactly these exploits are, stating, as follows: "In the most recent days and weeks, brilliant new cases of manly courage, resolve, and perspicacity were demonstrated by border guards, members of voluntary detachments, and other employees of the Ministry of Interior. The soldiers in the border guard posts were officers Marinov, Trushkov, and Tomov serve, recently acted under complicated and dynamic circumstances. In this difficult experience they showed great resolve, vigilance and a Chekist tempering, as well as an enviable professional skill and prevented the violation of our state borders."

Maj Gen Georgiev further describes the qualities and excellent training of the border guard troops in general terms and goes back to World War II and to the immediate postwar period when the border guards already manifested all their combat spirit and virtues. He closes the interview with the following remark: "Last, but not least, I would like to stress that in implementing our tasks, involving great responsibility, we are enjoying the great support and assistance of the local party and administrative leaders, of the employees from other organs of the Ministry of Interior, and of the soldiers in the Bulgarian People's Army, as well as of the Voluntary Detachments' members.

"The protection of our borders is a truly nationwide cause!"

The Bulgarian weekly POGLED, issue No 34, of 26 August 1985 carries on page 6, a 1,000-word interview with Major General Marko Georgiev, who is described as "Chief of staff of the Bulgarian border guards troops," given to Damyan Nikolov, on the occasion of the Bulgarian Border Guards' Day. In this interview Maj Gen

Georgiev describes the hardships of a border guard's life and stresses that a border guard must be endowed with special "physical and moral qualities and have the strength to overcome difficulties." He dwells on the care devoted to the training of young border guards and describes the situation in the early postwar period, when the Bulgarian borders were threatened by "counterrevolutionary organizations within the country" and the "fascist elements were seeking the support of the capitalist neighbor states."

Maj Gen Marko Georgiev further describes the new organization of the border guards started in 1946 under Georgi Dimitrov's personal supervision.

Dwelling on the present situation, he compares the border guards of today with those of the first generation and adds: "The common features linking the two generations together are the protection of the borders, the loyalty to the party and people, and their patriotism. Those of the first generations had no professional experience, but had revolutionary tempering and a long service in the party. The young people today have everything. They are being trained in our military schools and in special schools in the Soviet Union. They are engineers, teachers, or have other professional qualifications. They are assisted by the most up to date technical equipment."

Asked about those "who are violating the borders" by the interviewer, Maj Gen Georgiev replies:

"They are mostly former prisoners, criminals who have served their sentences, people who are escaping from prosecution, adventurers, and young people who have been deceived by Western propaganda, and under this influence, are dreaming about easy wealth and a life of luxury in the West."

The last question pertains to the "successes" of the border guards in which connection Maj Gen Georgiev remarks: "The Bulgarian border guards have achieved great successes in their combat and political training, as well as in protecting the motherland's borders. The successes have been achieved thanks to the border guards' relations with other detachments of the Ministry of Interior, thanks to the assistance of the patriotic population in the border areas with whom we have good relations. The voluntary detachments, these irreplaceable "vigilant watchers," under the leadership of the party organizations, have developed as well organized forces. Many voluntary detachment members and local citizens manifested exceptional morale and courage in arresting dangerous border violators and have prevented many violations before they have been committed. The contribution of our youths and pioneers is great in this respect."

CSO: 2200/94

BULGARIA

BTA COMMENTS ON GORBACHEV TIME INTERVIEW

AU021823 Sofia BTA in English 1740 GMT 2 Sep 85

["The Soviet Union Has Serious Intentions for the Geneva Meeting"--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 2 Sep (BTA)--What will the event of the year turn out to be--an achievement of peace or a mere summit level excursion?

The very first reading of the interview of Mr Mikhail Gorbachev for the American TIME magazine, which was published today, shows that the Soviet Union is fully aware of the seriousness of this issue. Mr Mikhail Gorbachev also makes a serious principal subject of the forthcoming meeting in Geneva from the political chaff which lately decorates the statements of a number of U.S. officials.

This analysis could not have been more timely. At the renewal of the USSR-USA dialogue in the beginning of this year, the Soviet side stated that "it will do its share." And it has already done so. After the unilateral introduction of a moratorium on all nuclear weapons tests and the initiative for the non-admission of the militarization of space there remains no sphere of the peace talks in which the Soviet Union has not proved its constructive approach. Washington answered with yet another nuclear test and decided to launch its space weapons tests in the weeks immediately following the Soviet proposals. These are its deeds. And as regards, the White House has already reduced forthcoming summit to a mere meeting of acquaintance.

In his answers to the questions put to him by the American journalists, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev not only recalled the main purpose of the meeting but also spoke of the common interests of the two states. Setting forth the Soviet stand, he made a straightforward review of the aims of the socialist society and of its problems and ideals. The striving to avert the qualitatively new stage in the nuclear race stems directly from these ideals. It is also a requirement of the Soviet economy.

A serious approach to the Geneva meeting is also in conformity with the interests of the American people, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev stressed. The tone of the whole interview is exceptionally considerate and constructive. It is a call to reason, to the good in man. Therefore it is extremely convincing.

BULGARIA

GREEK AUTHORITIES DESCRIBE BULGARIAN DEFECTORS AS ADVENTURISTS

NC291630 Athens ELEVTHEROTIPIA in Greek 29 Aug 85 p 4

[Text] The two Bulgarians who on Sunday landed a helicopter near Struma River and who are now at the Attiki Detention Center are considered by Greek police authorities to be adventurers and not secret service agents.

According to reports, it has not emerged from their interrogation that they are CIA agents as had been thought possible.

The identity cards and driving licenses which the two Bulgarians had on them give their names as Markov Miroslov, 36, and Grigorov Bolan, 29 [names as published].

According to reports, Markov had long been looking for a way to leave his country.

He recently met Bolan, who entertained the same thought. A plan was devised and on Sunday it was put into effect.

The crop duster piloted by Bolan, who was an employee of the Bulgarian Agriculture Department, flew low over the Struma River and landed on Greek soil.

The two Bulgarians are not interested in political asylum in Greece.

They want to go to the United States and immediately put forth their demand to the U.S. consulate in Thessaloniki, where they went first.

"If they were agents," a senior security officer said yesterday, "the Americans would not have let them leave their consulate."

Until their interrogation is completed the two Bulgarians will remain in Attiki. They then will be sent to the refugee camp in Lavrion until the appropriate authorities decide on their political asylum.

CSO: 2200/94

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES VISITING BRITISH PEERS

AU151849 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 15 Aug 85

[Text] State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov today received at the Evksingograd residence the eminent figures of Britain's Liberal Party Lord Mackie of Benshire, chairman of the Scottish Liberal Party, and Lord Tordoff, deputy chairman of the parliamentary group in the House of Lords, who are visiting our country at the invitation of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union Standing Committee [BNAU].

Topical questions of international politics were touched upon during the conversation, and it was emphasized that the prevention of danger from nuclear war and the termination of the arms race are a most important and immediate task.

The great importance of the development of a fruitful dialogue between states with different social systems for improvement of the political climate in the world was noted. The forthcoming Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva was welcomed, and hope was expressed that the talks between the USSR and the United States can contribute toward the easing of tension and the affirmation of positive processes in international life.

State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov spoke of the peace-loving policy of the Bulgarian People's Republic. He emphasized the efforts it is making to strengthen good-neighborliness and understanding in the Balkans, for lasting peace in Europe and the world.

The guests shared their impressions of Bulgaria's great progress and its steady development.

The desire for expansion of Bulgarian-British relations and economic cooperation in the interests of both countries and of the policy of detente, was expressed during the meeting. It was emphasized that ties between the BNAU and Britain's Liberal Party can contribute toward the consolidation of useful contacts between the two countries.

Comrade Petur Tanchev took part in the meeting, which passed in a friendly atmosphere.

CSO: 2200/94



BULGARIA

TRUD DAILY INTERVIEWS BRITISH MINE WORKERS LEADER

AU271412 Sofia BTA in English 1214 GMT 27 Aug 85

[Text] Sofia, 27 Aug (BTA)--Today, forty years after the end of the Second World War which took the lives of 50 million people, it is extremely important for the trade union workers throughout the world, regardless whether they are members of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions or of the World Federation of Free Trade Unions or of the World Federation of Trade Unions, to strive to unite their forces in order to do away with the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, Mr. Peter Heathfield, secretary general of the National Union of Mineworkers in Great Britain said in an interview for the TRUD daily.

He expressed the opinion that the foundation of a new trade union international of mineworkers will be an important step in this direction, because it will unite the trade unions of countries with different political and social orders, trade unions which are traditional members of various international organizations of different ideological orientations. We are guided by the belief that the best way to do away with the barriers of mistrust among the peoples is the uniting of all working people. The year 1985 has marked a progress in this respect, Mr Peter Heathfield pointed out.

Dwelling on the problems of the National Union of mineworkers and of the Trade Union Movement in Great Britain as a whole, Mr Peter Heathfield pointed out that despite the end of the strike of his trade union in March this year, almost every week witnesses a strike in one mine or another which shows that the British miners are not willing to submit and that they are resolute to defend their rights to the end.

He said that the problems in the framework of the National Union of Mineworkers are related above all to its branch in Nottinghamshire. The leadership of this branch obviously intends to turn its back to the fighting spirit traditions of the organisation and to cooperate with the national management of the coal industry which is to the detriment of the miners not only in this region but in Great Britain as a whole.

I hope, Mr Peter Heathfield said, that the miners from this region will sooner or later realize that we can preserve our jobs and defend our interests only if we are united.

Noting the multitude of problems facing not only the mineworkers in Great Britain but all workers, he expressed the hope that the British workers' movement as a whole will continue its struggle and will defend its acquisitions for the future generations.

BULGARIA

SRV AMBASSADOR AWARDS DEFENSE MINISTRY LEADERS

AU051826 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 5 Sep 85

[Text] Hoang Trong Nhu, SRV ambassador to Bulgaria, conferred today high SRV orders on the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense on the 40th anniversary of the victory over Japan and the SRV national holiday.

Comrade Dobri Dzhurov has been awarded the Ho Chi Minh Order for his great meritorious deeds for the Vietnamese people in building the Vietnamese Army and strengthening national security and the country's defense.

The first deputy ministers of national defense, Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, commander of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army, and General Colonel Khristo Dobrev, and Lieutenant General Lmitko Mitkov, head of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army, have been awarded the Military Merit--First Class Order.

Generals, admirals and officers of the Bulgarian People's Army, the Georgi Sava Rakovsky Military Academy, and higher academy schools, have been awarded the Military Merit and Friendship Orders.

Comrade Dobri Dzhurov pointed out that the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense accepts the orders as an expression of fraternal friendship and cooperation between our parties and peoples and between our fraternal armies.

CSO: 2200/94

BULGARIA

## INTERNAL MINISTRY'S OFFICE OF TECHNICAL SERVICES CRITICIZED

### Weaknesses in Use of Technology

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 24 Jul 85 p 3

[Article by Colonel Kostadin Manasiev: "From Quantitative Accumulation to a Qualitative Turning Point"]

[Text] There are many problems in the maintenance and effective use of technology in the scientific-technical departments and the departments of the okrug administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Recently the ministry has been devoting considerable means to saturating and re-equipping itself with contemporary scientific-technological devices, which are necessary for conducting qualitative inspections and expert research.

A portion of the equipment which was introduced 10 to 15 years ago (microscopes, for example) is still working flawlessly today and is of satisfactory quality. But a large part of the cameras on hand now is simply worn out. We are speaking here of the Ekzakta Vareks, Ekzakta IIA and IIB, Praktika-nova, Praktika-mat, and Praktika-4 cameras, the Aksomat and Magnifaks enlargers. They are often defective, and repairs on them are difficult because production of several of these models has ceased, and the corresponding spare parts do not exist.

The conditions for maintaining the apparatuses are good in most of the departments. But in scientific-technical departments of the okrug administrations of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Lovech, Ruse, Razgrad, Khaskovo, Vidin and a number of rayon administrations, some of the scientific-technical devices are not maintained under proper conditions. There is moisture, they are stored together with chemicals, and the optics inflict damages on the technology.

All is not in order in terms of the effective use of technical devices at hand. The methods of special photography are still insufficiently applied in expert work. The Pelister device for research under the conditions of infrared light has not been adopted by all the services and is rarely used in criminal study of documents. Even though the high qualities of the Linhof photo device have been demonstrated, some scientific-technical departments use it only episodically.

The expensive and very capable comparative microscopes are almost never used by the specialists of the scientific-technical departments, even though there have been indications of their necessity in carrying out tracologic research, and neighboring okrugs do not possess such microscopes.

In seeking dactyloscopic traces, the practice of working with a limited number of developers continues, instead of applying a whole range of devices and using those which could give the best result in the concrete situation.

All of this addresses the serious subjective weaknesses, chiefly in the management staff of scientific-technical services, in terms of lower requirements and control. Who else, other than the head of the scientific-technical department, must keep track of how the experts go to view the scene of the crime, which technology is used there in the expert study, what results are obtained? (Of course this does not diminish the responsibility of the (NIKK) of the State People's Militia as methodological leaders.) It is high time we dealt decisively with repetition, with fixed routine in maintaining and effectively using all the technical devices, as well as the methods which are linked to them.

#### Traffic Control Technology

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 24 Jul 85 p 3

[Article by Major Dimitur Shterev, head of the traffic control section:  
"How We Use Technology"]

[Text] The section for control of automotive transport of the okrug administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Tolbukhin is one of the first to use technological devices for the control of movement. We laid the foundation with a device for determining speed. Today we have almost all the modern technological devices: the RA-73 and 79, the Dreger, Multanova, Multafoto, Trafipaks, and video recorders. Each one of our traffic controllers has either the FARA or the RS-02 device to measure speeds, as well as a breathalyzer.

The technological devices are offered to the forces of the system for unified control; they have them in the patrol cars of the rayon administrations. On the roads with the heaviest traffic, radar devices for measuring speed are maintained by the junior rayon inspectors, who work in the absence of auto controllers. Thus the devices are utilized more fully. Every employee is trained to handle them.

Using technological devices is a daily thing for us. We plan thematic checks every week: for alcohol, for speeding, for the site of (domuvane), etc. We also carry out unmarked surveillance.

This year we have 10 booths in operation for broadcasting to every moving vehicle. A Multafoto device is attached to the stoplights to photograph vehicles which go through the red light.

In order to deal quickly with accidents that take place, we have established close cooperation with a section of the okrug transportation administration. Repairs are carried out quickly and with high quality.

We do have some problems with the devices. They relate mostly to apparatuses which measure speed. Often there are cases where the drivers argue, despite the fact that the radar used has establishing devices. They show the speed, but one cannot tell which vehicle is being tested. With the Multanova and Multafoto camera devices, as well as the video recorders, violations are demonstrated without any argument.

We have some suggestions: to think about developing more modern packaging for the RA-73; to provide more effective maintenance for the RS-02; its batteries barely last through one shift, and it is not always possible to use the rectifier.

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CSO: 2200/185

BULGARIA

MEXICO'S HURTADO RECEIVES PETUR TANCHEV

AU301816 Sofia BTA in English 1535 GMT 30 Aug 85

[Text] Mexico City, 30 Aug (BTA Correspondent)--Last night President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado of Mexico received Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) and first vice president of the State Council, who is leading a delegation of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party on a visit to Mexico at the invitation of the leadership of the National Peasants' Confederation.

Mr Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado stressed the friendly feelings which the Mexican people cherish for the Bulgarian people and the need to expand relations between the two countries. "This is a fine example how two geographically remote countries, belonging to different social systems, can cooperate for the sake of peace and understanding," the President indicated. "In their development all countries in the world need disarmament and peace. Mexico is in favour of a fruitful dialogue and is seeking new forms of international economic cooperation," Mr Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado emphasised.

The leader of the Bulgarian delegation reiterated Bulgaria's appreciation of the realistic policy pursued by Mexico. He pointed to the active role which Mexico plays in the Contadora group for the settlement of Central American Conflicts. In addition, Mr Petur Tanchev emphasised that this active policy has found expression in Mexico's participation in the New Delhi meeting of six countries in Europe, Asia, Africa and America, which is a significant contribution to the struggle for the aversion of the nuclear threat and for disarmament.

CSO: 2200/94

BULGARIA

LEBANESE CP LEADER HAWI INTERVIEWED

AU311906 Sofia BTA in English 1550 GMT 31 Aug 85

[Text] Sofia, 31 Aug (BTA)--The U.S. attempts to revive the separate deals in the Middle East, relying on the activities of the Arab reaction and especially on the right-wing sectors in the Palestine Liberation Organisation, are doomed to failure, said Mr George Hawi, secretary general of the CC of the Lebanese Communist Party, in an interview for the BTA and the Bulgarian television.

These attempts cannot meet even the minimum of the Arab people of Palestine's national grievances, they run counter to the interests of the Arab peoples and are aimed to keep the Soviet people and the other socialist countries out of a settlement of the Middle East crisis.

The Lebanese Communist Party leader stressed that the progressive forces in the PLO, the National Patriotic Forces in Lebanon and Syria, the National Liberation Movement in the Arab world, backed by the socialist countries and by the Soviet Union in the first place, will foil the so-called talks of the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation with American imperialists. As is known, these talks are intended to clear the way for negotiations with Israel. A way out of the Lebanese crisis, Mr George Hawi said, passes through the convocation of an international conference with attendance from all parties concerned, and more specifically from the PLO, once it has restored its unity on a progressive anti-imperialist basis and once it has rejected the Amman accords on striking separate deals.

The driving of U.S. troops out, the defeat of the Israeli aggressors force into a phased withdrawal from the country, and the heavy blows dealt to the Lebanese reaction collaborating with Israel have confronted Lebanon with new tasks, said Mr George Hawi. Our country can overcome the political, economic and social crisis if we keep on our struggle for the liberation of Lebanon, if we restore its unity and reaffirm its position within the Arab world, he said. The Lebanese communist leader said that the members of his party fight for a solidified unity of all patriotic forces, for the implementation of the National Unity Front programme, viewed by political quarters in the country as the only means of a patriotic settlement of the crisis and as the only way out of it.

Touching on the relations between the BCP and the Lebanese Communist Party, Mr George Hawi said that they are exceedingly close. These are relations between two parties guided by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Each one of them carries out its tasks in its own region, and at the same time they cooperate in solving the global international issues.

CSO: 2200/94



BULGARIA

TODOR ZHIVKOV'S SPEECH ON AWARDING INDIAN CP LEADER

AU290806 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Aug 85 pp 1-2

["Comrade Todor Zhivkov's Speech" on awarding Chandra Rajeswara Rao, general secretary of the Communist Party of India--in Varna on 26 Aug 85]

[Text] Dear Comrade Rao,

It gives me pleasure to be able to fulfill an extremely pleasant duty--to award you the "Georgi Dimitrov" Order. The State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria awards you this highest Bulgarian order, on which is depicted the image of Georgi Dimitrov, immortal son of our people and outstanding workers of the international communist and workers movement, for your great services in the struggle [word indistinct] social progress, for your contribution to the strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the BCP and the Communist Party of India [CPI], between the Bulgarian and Indian peoples, and on the occasion of your 70th birthday.

Communists and workers in socialist Bulgaria recognize you as a worker and leader of the CPI over many years, and as an outstanding figure of the international communist and workers movement. For more than 50 years now, Comrade Rao, you have devoted all your energies and talents to the just struggle which the great Indian people are conducting.

We are well aware that from your very earliest years you have always linked your fate with the aspirations, will and struggle of your multimillion nation and the Communist Party. Your ideological, political and organizing qualities have been assessed at their true worth--during 1951-52 you were elected general secretary of the CPI Central Committee, and the Seventh Congress in Bombay in 1964, which played an important part in strengthening and drawing together the party, elevated you to the post of general secretary of the National Council of the CPI. For more than 20 years at all subsequent congresses you have fully deserved to be reelected to this high, responsible post.

Under your leadership, Comrade Rao, the CPI is waging a tireless struggle, in complex internal and international conditions, in defence of Indian workers' vital interests, against the strivings and provocations of imperialism and of world and regional reaction to incite conflicts between the communities living in India--a struggle to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of India, for peace and democracy.

Today Bulgarian Communists salute you as a consistent internationalist, Marxist-Leninist and ardent champion for the unity of the international communist and workers movement, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

We salute you also as an indefatigable defender of India's friendship with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community.

At the same time, today we think of the great contribution that your native land--the Republic of India--makes towards preserving world peace and understanding between peoples; we remember with gratitude the inspired contribution of the unforgettable Indira Gandhi, with whom I was linked by a warm personal friendship, to that cause, sacred for mankind, and endorse the constructive peace-loving policy of Rajiv Gandhi's government.

In our time, when aggressive imperialists circles continue their feverish preparations for military supremacy and a new world war, which, as we all know, would mean a thermonuclear catastrophe for the planet and the destruction of human civilization, there is no more overriding task than to unite the forces of peace and progress in constructive efforts for the preservation and triumph of peace to guarantee a happy future for all nations. In this historic battle of reason against madness the CPI has been making a substantial contribution in drawing the Indian workers into their antiwar movement and asserting the active role of the Republic of India in the struggle of peoples against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid, for peace and security--in Asia and throughout the world.

Dear Comrade Rao,

I award you the highest Bulgarian order--the "Georgi Dimitrov" Order, with most cordial wishes for good health, happiness and new successes in your highly responsible work!

And may you continue to lead the CPI in the future, with the same selfless dedication and communist inspiration, in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress, for the good of the friendly Indian people!

Congratulations!

CSO: 2200/94

BULGARIA

INDIAN CP SECRETARY GENERAL RAO INTERVIEWED

AU021456 Sofia BTA in English 1732 GMT 31 Aug 85

["C. Rajeswara Rao Brands Imperialism and Reaction"--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 31 Aug (BTA)--In an interview for the Bulgarian Press, Mr Chandra Rajeswara Rao, secretary general of the National Council of the Communist Party of India (CPI) lashed out at imperialism and the reactionary forces in his country, accusing them of seeking to destroy India's national unity.

"Imperialists have never been quite happy with our country, as it adheres to a policy of non-alignemnt, of strengthening world peace, of friendship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries," he said. "They have always conspired against India, they have incited the forces of reaction and chauvinism and have encircled us with hostile military and reactionary regimes. The dark forces of reaction, the Punjabi terrorists, are seeking to destroy the country's unity."

Mr C. Rajeswara Rao said that his party is engaged in persistent struggle against reactionaries and added that many communists had fallen in this struggle. He emphasised that the CPI backs the progressive foreign policy of Mr Rajiv Gandhi's government, despite certain differences on some home policy questions.

The maintenance of peace is mankind's foremost priority, Mr C. Rajeswara Rao went on to say. Peace is imperilled by the policies of the Reagan administration which is plotting against the Soviet Union, Bulgaria and other socialist community countries, which has initiated the "Star Wars" programme. All this poses a threat to world peace.

The guest said that all CPI actions are now determined by the tasks of strengthening peace. The rallies marking the 40th anniversary of the victory over Nazi fascism and Japanese militarism have been attended by tens of thousands of people. A peace and solidarity organisation has been set up in the country. An all-out campaign is being held in support of the comprehensive nuclear test-ban, proposed by Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, secretary general of the CC of the CPSU. An action in support of the idea to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace has also got under way.

BULGARIA

SWISS PARTY DELEGATION WINDS UP VISIT

AU301942 Sofia BTA in English 1556 GMT 30 Aug 85

[Text] Sofia, 30 Aug (BTA)--A delegation of the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland [SDPS] headed by the chairman of the party Mr Helmut Hubacher paid a visit to Bulgaria from 26 to 30 August at the invitation of the CC of the BCP.

The delegation included Mr Alexander Euler and Mr Richard Beumlin--members of Parliament, Mr Peter Vollmer, deputy chairman of the party and Mr Jean-Pierre Metrol, international affairs secretary of the party.

Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP, received the delegation. The talks which passed in a friendly atmosphere and in a spirit of sincerity were also attended by Mr Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, and by Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP.

The two parties expressed their great concern over the continuing arms race and the dangerous tension in international relations.

They stressed that peace and wide-ranging cooperation between states of different social orders are an indispensable pre-condition for the social progress of the peoples. Today it is more than ever necessary to take effective steps towards limiting the armaments and towards disarmament in the sphere of conventional and above all in the sphere of nuclear weapons, as well as steps towards consolidating trust and towards detente by means of a sincere, constructive and equal rights dialogue.

It was noted that the stands of the BCP and the SDPS on the issues of peace and security coincide to a great extent in spite of some differences.

The two parties support the proposals for reducing, banning and liquidating all nuclear weapons and other mass annihilation weapons including chemical weapons in Europe and the world, for averting the militarization of space and for establishing nuclear-weapon-free zones in Northern and Central Europe, in the Balkans and in other regions.

The talks stressed the paramount importance of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue and expressed the hope that the forthcoming November summit meeting in Geneva will contribute to detente in the world and to solving regional conflicts and problems.

In this connection the Bulgarian side stressed the series of Soviet peaceful initiatives and the unilateral measures adopted by the USSR in particular including the moratorium on nuclear weapons tests introduced on 6 August, 1985.

The representatives of the two parties set forth their opinions and touched on some concrete aspects of the human rights and the rights of the peoples' issues.

The representatives of the SDPS were informed of the present anti-Bulgarian campaign and of the so-called "Antonov case" in particular.

The BCP and the SDPS are for the further promotion of Bulgarian-Swiss relations.

Expressing their satisfaction with the talks, the two parties confirmed their readiness to continue bilateral contacts on the basis of equal rights and mutual respect and in the name of peace, security and mutually advantageous cooperation among the peoples.

During the visit the guests had talks at the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, at the Ministry of National Education and at the Environmental Conservation Committee. They visited enterprises, research institutes, and cultural institutions in the county of Varna.

CSO: 2200/94

BULGARIA

BCP DAILY REVIEWS BOOK OF JARUZELSKI'S SPEECHES

AU301520 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Aug 85 p 3

[Unattributed review of book "Wojciech Jaruzelski. Speeches": "Renewal Requires a Struggle"]

[Text] The book "Wojciech Jaruzelski. Speeches" has recently been published in the Partizdat series "Political Figures of Our Time," which includes the works of prominent representatives of the communist, workers and anti-imperialist movement throughout the world. This collection includes selected speeches, articles and interviews of Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers, during the period from 12 February 1981 to 7 May 1985. This was a time of dramatic events in the social life of fraternal Poland, of alarming complications in the international situation caused by the Washington administration and NATO, and of important decisions regarding the directions for advancing the fraternal interrelationship between the countries of the socialist community and between Bulgaria and Poland. These fundamental questions are the main subjects of the book, the appearance of which is a significant event.

The Bulgarian public has constantly followed with lively interest and warm sympathy the successes in the socialist construction of Poland. The complications and difficulties that arose at the start of the 1980's in the development of Polish society and the complex work and struggle to overcome them prompted agitation and an undying response in our hearts, because the Bulgarian and Polish people are bound together by an age-old friendship and, for more than four decades, by the sound working principles of socialist internationalism. The book of Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski's selected speeches opens up still wider opportunities for the Bulgarian reader to penetrate deeply to the essence of the most important problems which the communists and workers of fraternal Poland have been solving in recent years, and to get a precise picture of the directions of the internal and foreign policies of the PZPR and the Polish state.

The major part of the published speeches and other works are devoted to the immediate current tasks facing the PZPR and the Polish people in surmounting the causes and consequences of the crisis in the development of society. Some of them are of a broad program nature, as they are concerned with the general party line determined by the IM Extraordinary Party Congress and the subsequent

Central Committee plenums, and also with important decisions and documents of the Polish Government. Others consider specific questions relating to social life in Poland, the role and place of social groups and strata, and various factors in the complex process of society's renewal.

However, the main thread is the fight to strengthen the Party's leading role and to concentrate all forces for good around the Party program to defend the socialist essence of the constructed new society, and to repulse pressure from the hostile forces of internal reaction and imperialism to deflect the people from the historic path they have chosen. In his speech at the Fifth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee on 28 October 1981, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski emphasizes: "Let us never forget that without socialism an independent Poland with justly defined frontiers can never exist. And at the same time socialism cannot exist without the Party, without the fulfillment of its historic mission. The awareness of this interrelationship must constantly stay with us--Polish patriots and Polish Communists."

The moment when Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski was elected to the post of first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee was particularly crucial for the fate of the party and society. Precisely then came the culmination of the decisive clash between the strong forces of the workers united around the PZPR and the antisocialist elements incited from without the country, which by false slogans and misleading demands had carried part of the workers along with them. Precisely at that time there was a particular need for revolutionary firmness, political wisdom and boldness, in order for the country to be delivered from the great calamity threatening it. At this fateful hour, the words which we now find in the book sounded out: "In this grave situation, in this difficult work we must preserve the unity, strength and attacking nature of the party, and its Marxist-Leninist ideological principles. We must do everything to retain our faith and confidence in the just socialist cause and in its invincibility."

Almost all of Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski's speeches are permeated with a strong emotional charge, but this is controlled by a precise Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation and of the only correct conclusions as to the decisions and actions which the situation requires from the working class and its political vanguard. This is the key that enables one to penetrate to the essence of the PZPR's line, followed firmly and confidently, in order for the cataclysms in political, economic and spiritual life to be overcome, and for a gradual, but increasing renewal of this to be achieved while preserving and consolidating the socialist base and superstructure.

People's Poland has passed through a very complex stage of its development, but the great dangers are now left behind, and now the efforts are being directed towards the complete normalization of the economy and returning it to the positions won previously, under conditions where the sound principles of socialist democracy and socialist social administration are applied. An important place in this process has been set aside for the new trade unions. "We have confidence in the wisdom of the working class, in its patriotism and political sense. We believe that working people will reject the advice of false friends and will create trade unions that correspond to their actual

needs and to the needs of People's Poland, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski stresses in one of his speeches. A few years ago this was an appeal, today it is a reality. This is one of the numerous important facts that clearly confirms the correctness of the decisions made at the PZPR's Ninth Extraordinary Congress and their consistent implementation in practice.

Both in stormy times and in periods of intense construction, the people of fraternal Poland always felt the presence of a loyal shoulder at their side--the effective unselfish support of the great Soviet Union and of all the states of the socialist community. In many of his published speeches, the author stresses the crucial importance of the Soviet Union's heroic struggle for victory over Hitler's fascism, due to which the rebirth of Poland and the choice of the right path for construction of the socialist society became historical facts. The fraternal solidarity of the Soviet People and the peoples of the other socialist countries provided that essential support which accelerated Poland's emergence from the difficulties in its development. On this subject Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski states: "In this grave period for us we could be completely assured that proletarian internationalism means the irrevocable right and obligation of every people to solve its own internal problems in the spirit of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism, and at the same time in accordance with the specific situation and conditions in the country in question. This internationalism is also displayed in fraternal assistance in a spirit of solidarity, when one of the members of the socialist peoples' family encounter difficulties. The Soviet Union rendered invaluable assistance to us, and it continues to render such assistance. Let us never forget the understanding and trust displayed, and the material and political support provided by the country of our Soviet friends."

Throughout the aforementioned years the fraternal relations of friendship, unity, and allround cooperation between Poland and Bulgaria were consolidated even more, as well. The book contains numerous, brilliant testimonies of the ascending development of our relations and of the high appreciation for their effective impact. In his speech at the official dinner in honor of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, when the latter visited Warsaw in April 1984, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed: "The relations between Poland and Bulgaria, as well as the friendly relations between our two peoples, are based on glorious, ancient traditions. The years of socialist construction represent a qualitatively new, higher stage in their development. Under the leadership of the PZPR and of the BCP our two peoples are implementing the ideas and goals of Marxism-Leninism, they are multiplying the results of the historical change which was accomplished 40 years ago. The ideological links, the principles of socialist internationalism, as well as the common national interests and aspirations, represent the basis of our two parties' unity, of the alliance between our two states, and of the friendship existing between our two peoples. The active participation of both Poland and Bulgaria in the Warsaw Pact and in the CEMA organization, as well as their unshakable alliance with the USSR and with the other socialist countries are contributing to the fraternal cooperation between the two countries."

These basic trends in the foreign policy of the PZPR and of the Polish state are of tremendous importance for an efficient resistance against the persistent



hostile campaign and the discriminatory actions of imperialism, which are being practiced with particular venom, by the U.S. administration, in particular.

This campaign is part of the policy of confrontation adopted by the United States and NATO as regards the fraternal socialist community. It is obviously linked to the striving for military superiority and diktat, expressed through overt militarism and escalation in the arms race. This policy, however, is utterly unrealistic and has no chance whatsoever to achieve its selfish goals. This policy is facing an unsurmountable barrier--namely the active, consistent, firm, and united policy of the Soviet Union and of all countries belonging to the fraternal, socialist community, it is facing their growing economic and defense power, as well as the tremendous prestige of their efforts to eliminate the threat of war. In his speech delivered at the festive reception on the occasion of the Warsaw meeting of the highest ranking party and state leaders from the Warsaw Pact member-states on 26 April 1985, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski declared: "The only sensible method of improving the development of East-West relations is to restrain the arms race and the return to the policy of detente and of cooperation based on equal rights. Not arrogant monologues, but patient dialogues, not the striving for usurpation, but compromise and understanding must prevail in international relations....

"The socialist community member-countries are guided by a clearly determined line of behavior: by the necessity to manifest both their loyalty to their principles, as well as flexibility, constantly to take care of their own defense capacity, and to conduct negotiations wherever this is possible and expedient."

The collection of Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski's speeches is already available to the Bulgarian readers. Its publication represents a considerable, new contribution to getting more closely acquainted with the Polish people and to the consolidation of fraternal unity between the Polish and Bulgarian communists, between our two nations. The book gives ample opportunity to our readers to understand and feel the speedily advancing process of innovation in People's Poland under the leadership of the PZPR, as well as the right, and the historical choice of this fraternal country always to belong to the united family of the socialist community member-states.

CSO: 2200/94

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV, FILIPOV MESSAGE TO SRV COUNTERPARTS

AU030907 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Sep 85 pp 1-2

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent the following message to Le Duan, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, Truong Chinh, chairman of the SRV State Council, and Pham Van Dong, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers:

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the entire Bulgarian people, and on our personal behalf, we send you, and in your persons, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the SRV State Council and Government, and the fraternal Vietnamese people most cordial greetings on the glorious 40th anniversary of the victory of the August Revolution.

During the past 40 years, under the CPV leadership and with the assistance of the USSR, the other fraternal socialist countries, and the world progressive forces, the Vietnamese people have achieved brilliant victories. Your successes in the socioeconomic transformations and socialist construction in the SRV demonstrate what a country led by a communist party and armed with the Marxist-Leninist teaching is capable of.

Today the SRV, in close cooperation with the other CEMA member-states, is successfully solving the tasks set by the Fifth CPV Congress on constructing the material-technological base of socialism and increasing the people's standard of living. It is turning into a prospering socialist country, as Ho Chi Minh, the great son of the Vietnamese people, wanted to see it.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria highly evaluates the SRV's principled policy aimed against imperialism and aggression and for world peace and security. Vietnam is making its contribution to strengthening the positions of world socialism and is consistently struggling to achieve goodneighborly relations in Southeast Asia and turn this region into a zone of peace and cooperation.

With deep satisfaction we note that Bulgarian-Vietnamese relations are developing and strengthening with every passing year, on the oasis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

On the day of the glorious anniversary of the first workers-peasant state in Southeast Asia, we wish you, dear comrades, and in your persons, the entire fraternal Vietnamese people even greater successes in socialist construction and strengthening the defensive capability of the SRV, and in the struggle for [word indistinct] greeting the VCP Sixth Congress.

May the indestructible Bulgarian-Vietnamese friendship and comprehensive co-operation between the BCP and the CPV, between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the SRV, and between our two peoples, strengthen and develop!

CSO: 2200/94

BULGARIA

DZHUROV, OFFICERS RECEIVE VIETNAMESE ORDERS

AU091200 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Sep 85 p 8

[Text] "These awards are an expression of our gratitude to the BCP, the government and the Bulgarian people for the help they have given us in the struggle against the French colonialists and the American imperialists. They are a manifestation of gratitude to the Bulgarian People's Army [BPA] for its active support and assistance at the present time in the training of military commanders and technical cadres, in building up the Vietnamese armed forces, and in strengthening Vietnam's defense capabilities, Hoang Trong Nhu, the SRV ambassador to Bulgaria, declared yesterday as he conferred high Vietnamese orders on the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense. The occasion for the awards was the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler's fascism and Japanese militarism and Vietnam's National Day.

By decree of the SRV Council of State Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and minister of national defense, was awarded the "Ho Chi Minh" order for his great services to the Vietnamese people in the building of the army and in strengthening national security and the defense of the Vietnamese homeland.

Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, chief of the BPA General Staff, and Colonel General Khristo Dobrev, first deputy ministers of national defense, and Lieutenant General Mitko Mitkov, chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, received the "Military Service" Order, first class.

Generals, admirals and officers of the BPA, from the "Georgi Dimitrov" Military Academy and higher national military schools, were awarded the "Military Service" and "Friendship" orders.

Comrade Dobri Dzhurov stressed that the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense accepted the orders as an expression of fraternal friendship and cooperation between our parties and peoples and between our fraternal armies. This friendship and cooperation is continuously developing and strengthening under the leadership of our first leaders--Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Le Duan.

Comrade Zhurov assured the ambassador that the fraternal Vietnamese people has in the persons of the Bulgarian people and its soldiers faithful friends on whom it may rely, and who, on the occasion of this glorious jubilee--the 40th anniversary of the August revolution and the proclamation of the republic--offer their congratulations and good wishes for fresh great successes in the building of socialism and in the struggle to strengthen peace and security in Southeast Asia and throughout the world.

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

**TODOROV DELEGATION FROM MOSCOW**--The Bulgarian parliamentary delegation, headed by Stanko Todorov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the National Assembly, returned from Moscow today. The delegation had paid an official, friendly visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the chairmen of the two chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet. For a week the Bulgarian parliamentary delegation held meetings and talks with officials of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and during its visit to Lithuania, it also visited the Supreme Soviet of this republic. The delegation was acquainted with the work of the permanent committees of the two chambers of the Soviet parliament, as well as with the activities of the local authorities and of the deputies in connection with expanding the participation of working people in solving state issues. The Bulgarian guests visited plants, kolkhozes, and other institutions devoted to Bulgarian-Soviet friendship. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 20 Aug 85 AU]

**SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE ON SOUTH AFRICA**--Sofia, 3 Sep (BTA)--Developments in the Republic of South Africa [RSA] are assuming an increasingly dramatic character. In just a month following the imposition of a state of emergency, thrice as many people died in South Africa as those in the last 11 months. In this connection, the Bulgarian Afro-Asian peoples Solidarity Committee has issued a declaration emphasizing that the entire Bulgarian public angrily and resolutely condemns the bloody atrocities of racists in Pretoria and voices its invariable solidarity for the struggle of the patriotic and democratic forces in the RSA. The Bulgarian public urges an immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners, sparing the life of Benjamin Moloise, and calls on all democratic forces on the planet to back actively the struggle of South African patriots against racism and apartheid, for freedom, equality and social progress. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1732 GMT 3 Sep 85 AU]

**JAPANESE PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION VISITS**--Sofia, 27 Aug (BTA)--The world needs peace, not mountains of new nuclear weapons: this is the conviction of the Japanese MPPS. visiting here led by Mr Noboru Agune, deputy speaker of the House of Councillors of the Japanese Diet, and of their Bulgarian hosts headed by Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly. Voicing their concern over the strained international situation, the members of the Bulgarian and the Japanese parliaments stressed their sincere willingness to work for maintenance of peace and for the aversion of the nuclear war danger. The friendly relations between Bulgaria and Japan, irrespective of the differences in their socio-political systems, as well as the cooperation between the two countries'

parliaments are a good example in this respect. At their more than two-hour-long meeting today the two sides expressed their satisfaction with the promotion of Bulgarian-Japanese relations and discussed fresh possibilities for broader contacts. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1209 GMT 27 Aug 85 AU]

MLADENOV RECEIVES UN OFFICIAL BIRYUKOV--Sofia, 6 Sep (BTA)--Mr Genadiy Biryukov, deputy executive secretary of the UN European Economic Committee, paid a visit to Bulgaria from 2 through 6 September, 1985. He had talks with Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, on the further development and broadening of the cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the UN committee. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1721 GMT 6 Sep 85 AU]

LUKANOV MEETS AUSTRIAN INDUSTRY DELEGATION--Sofia, 6 Sep (BTA)--Today Mr Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Mr Oskar Gruenwald, chairman of the Association of the Austrian nationalized industry. The two sides stressed that the good level of political relations as well as cooperation in the other spheres and the traditional contacts between the business circles in Bulgaria and Austria create favourable preconditions for broadening cooperation between Bulgarian economic organizations and firms included in the Austrian nationalized industry. Mr Andrey Lukanov and Mr Oskar Gruenwald dwelled on the concrete possibilities for broadening cooperation in the spheres of trade, mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, and the chemical and pharmaceutical industries. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1727 GMT 6 Sep 85 AU]

GREEK TU OFFICIAL--Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, had a meeting and conversation with Yeoryios Raftopoulos, chairman of the Greek General Confederation of Labor, who is vacationing in our country, in Varna on 5 August. The leaders of the two trade union organizations briefed each other on the tasks being resolved by trade unions in Bulgaria and Greece at the present stage. In an exceptionally cordial atmosphere they exchanged opinions on specific actions to further strengthen bilateral trade union cooperation, and also on some problems of the international trade union movement. [Text] [Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 7 Aug 85 p 1 AU]

MLADENOV, USSR'S STUKALIN MEET--Sofia, 27 Aug (BTA)--Today Mr Petur Mladenov, Politburo member of the CC of the BCP and minister of foreign affairs, received the visiting delegation of the USSR Commission for UNESCO, led by its chairman, Mr Viktor Stukalin, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR. The guests were familiarized with Bulgaria's preparations for the forthcoming 23rd Session of the UNESCO's General Conference. They discussed the contribution of the two fraternal countries to the activities of this authoritative international organisation and the prospects of their future joint work in it. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1131 GMT 27 Aug 85 AU]

ZAREV RECIEVES USSR'S STUKALIN, URANOV--On 28 August Comrade Kiril Zarev received Viktor Stukalin, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs and chairman of the Commission on UNESCO, and Genadiy Uranov, responsible secretary of the commission, who are visiting Bulgaria. They exchanged information on matters pertaining to bilateral relations and the present international situation. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 28 Aug 85 AU]

GRIGOROV RECEIVES JAPANESE PARLIAMENTARIANS--On 28 August Mitko Grigorov, deputy chairman of the State Council, received the Japanese parliamentary delegation, which is visiting Bulgaria at the invitation of the National Assembly. The delegation is led by Noboru Agune, deputy speaker of the House of Councillors of the Japanese Parliament. During the talk satisfaction was expressed with the development of Bulgarian-Japanese relations, and the common willingness to further develop and strengthen bilateral cooperation was confirmed. Afterwards the Japanese parliamentarians visited Plovdiv. They were briefed on the okrug's socio-economic development and reviewed agricultural objects and the city's historical sites. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 28 Aug 85 AU]

STANISHEV MEETS ALGERIAN OFFICIAL--Varna, [date indistinct] August [BTA]--Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP, met Mr Tammy Hiary, [spelling as received] member of the Politburo of the CC of the Parti du Progres et du Socialisme (PBS) in Morocco, who is on holidays in Bulgaria. The two sides exchanged information about the main tasks standing before the two fraternal parties at the present moment. They discussed current issues of the international communist movement and the conditions in the world. Special attention was paid to the situation in the Middle East. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 0754 GMT 20 Aug 85 AU]

BLECHA-LED AUSTRIAN DELEGATION--On 7 September the delegation of the Austrian Ministry of Interior led by Karl Blecha, minister of interior, departed from Bulgaria. The delegation made a business visit to Bulgaria at the invitation of Dimitur Stoyanov, minister of internal affairs. During the visit the leader of the Austrian delegation was received by Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council; Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee on Culture; and by Georgi Dzhagarov, deputy chairman of the State Council. The Austrian guests also had meetings with the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, at which matters of joint interest were discussed. They visited Varna and reviewed sites in the city and the okrug. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 7 Sep 85 AU]

BALEV MEETS FRENCH CP'S PLISSONNIER--Sofia, 6 Sep (BTA)--Today Mr Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, met Mr Gaston Plissonnier, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of France (PCF). They exchanged opinions on topical issues of the situation in the world and of the international communist and workers' movement. Mr Milko Balev and Mr Gaston Plissonnier discussed issues of the further promotion and cementing of the cooperation between the two fraternal parties. The meeting passed in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1725 GMT 6 Sep 85 AU]

PCF'S PLISSONNIER AWARDED--Sofia, 7 Sep (BTA)--The State Council has awarded Mr Gaston Plissonnier, member of the Politburo and secretary of the French Communist Party, with the "People's Republic of Bulgaria" first class order. This high distinction is a recognition of his contribution to the struggle for peace and social progress, to the development and cementing of friendship and cooperation between the BCP and the PCF, between Bulgaria and France, between the Bulgarian and French people and in connection with his 70th birthday anniversary. At the ceremony Mr Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary

of the CC of the BCP, stressed that the many-year fruitful cooperation and sincere communist friendship between the BCP and the PCF are now a tradition. In his speech Mr Gaston Plissonnier expressed his great respect for Georgi Dimitrov. He pointed out his admiration of Bulgaria's great achievements and of the profound changes in the conscience of the people, describing all this as a gigantic work achieved under the wise leadership of the BCP. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 0701 GMT 7 Sep 85 AU]

GDR'S HORST SINDERMAN AWARD --Sofia, 5 Sep (BTA)--The State Council of Bulgaria awarded Mr Horst Sindermann, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, chairman of the Volkskammer and deputy chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, the Georgi Dimitrov Order for his remarkable contribution to the development of the fraternal friendship and cooperation between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, between Bulgaria and the GDR, between peoples of the two countries and in connection with his 70th birthday. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1530 GMT 5 Sep 85 AU]

MALTESE PRESIDENT STOPS OVER--On her way home, the Maltese president Agatha Barbara arrived for a short visit to our country. She was met at Sofia airport by Mitko Grigorov, deputy chairman of the State Council, and by other officials. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 5 Sep 85 AU]

WEST BERLIN'S HORST SCHMIDT AWARDED--Sofia, 2 Sep (BTA)--The State Council has issued [Horst Schmidt] of the Socialist Unity Party--West Berlin, with the People's Republic of Bulgaria First Class Order for his great contribution to the promotion of the fraternal relations between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Socialist Unity Party--West Berlin, to the fruitful relations between Bulgaria and West Berlin, between the Bulgarian people and the population of West Berlin as well as to the strengthening of the international communist and workers' movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and on connection with this 60th birthday anniversary. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1854 GMT 2 Sep 85 AU]

SWISS SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY--On 28 August in Varna talks between a delegation of the BCP Central Committee and a delegation of the Swiss Social Democratic Party began. The Swiss delegation is led by the chairman of the Social Democratic Party Helmut Hubacher. On the Bulgarian side the talks were attended by Comrades Milko Balev and Dimitur Stanishev. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 28 Aug 85 AU]

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES SWISS SOCIAL DEMOCRAT--Sofia, 30 Aug (BTA)--Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP, received a delegation of the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland, headed by the chairman of the party, Mr Helmut Hubacher. The delegation is visiting this country at the invitation of the CC of the BCP. The talks, which passed in a spirit of friendship, exchanged information on the activities of the two parties as well as opinions on topical issues of the international situation. Special attention was paid to the issues of security, disarmament and cooperation in Europe. The mutual wish to further promote the contacts between the BCP and the Swiss Social-Democratic Party was confirmed. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1201 GMT 30 Aug 85 AU]



CZECHOSLOVAKIA

KIM IL-SONG RECEIVES INDRA-LED CSSR DELEGATION

AU041254 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Sep 85 p 1

[Report by RUDE PRAVO special correspondent Milan Madr and CTK: "Comrade Kim Il-song Received Czechoslovak parliamentary Delegation"]

[Text] Pyongyang--Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea and DPRK president, received in Pyongyang on Sunday [1 Sep] a delegation of the CSSR Federal Assembly led by Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, which is paying an official friendly visit to the DPRK.

A. Indra described the parliamentary visit to the DPRK as an expression of the traditionally good relations between the two countries. He noted the CSSR's endeavor to do everything it can for the implementation of the results of last year's talks in Prague the highest representatives of the two countries, and stressed its interest in further developing mutual economic and scientific-technological cooperation.

He stated that both countries hold identical views on the current international situation and stressed the need for the socialist countries' unity in the struggle for peace, progress, and communism. He voiced Czechoslovakia's full support for the DPRK's constructive proposals aimed at the unification of Korea. The highest Korean representative, Kim Il-song, welcomed the visit of the Czechoslovak parliamentary delegation as an important contribution to the development of relations between the two countries. He voiced great appreciation for the Czechoslovak assistance to the DPRK at the time of the Korean war and in the years of postwar reconstruction. He expressed himself in favor of the implementation of the results of his last year's talks with Comrade Gustav Huk.

Kim Il-song then briefed the Czechoslovak delegation on the DPRK's concrete proposals aimed at establishing conditions for the peaceful unification of Korea and on the obstacles placed in their way by the United States.

He stressed his active support for the peace proposals of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community and said that easing international tension and eliminating the threat of a nuclear war were the most important task of the present.

CSO: 2400/578

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

METHODIAN TRADITION HAILED AS IMPORTANT POLITICALLY

Prague TVORBA in Czech 31 Jul 85 p 14

[Article by Academicians Bohuslav Chropovsky and Vladimir Cirbes: "Great Moravian Tradition in the Consciousness of Our People"]

[Text] One of the basic conditions for improving the effectiveness of ideological work aiming at forming the social consciousness of the working people and youth is a consistent application of the dialectics of continuity and discontinuity of the spiritual heritage of the past.

Figuratively speaking, socialist society has a historical obligation to preserve and further develop all positive material and spiritual values created by previous generations, to creatively integrate them with its value system and use them in a planned fashion, in education. V.I. Lenin often emphasized the need to enrich the conscience of the builders of socialism and communism by the resources created by humanity. It is obvious that the application of the above-mentioned viewpoint is especially significant in relation to the history of one's own people and one's own nation. It is in this context that we can detect the significance, function, and meaning of tradition.

One may justifiably state that a nation without tradition is not a nation in the full sense of the word. Such a nation misses an important dimension in understanding its own character, one of the valuable criteria in understanding and evaluating the nation's present and future, a necessary inspirational source for the creative efforts of contemporary generations, a significant source of self-assurance and self-awareness.

The progressive people's, national, and revolutionary traditions constitute an indispensable layer of social consciousness, including socialist consciousness, which strongly links rational and emotional elements. In our history, such traditions indisputably include the Great Moravian tradition and its component, the tradition of Cyril and Methodius.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party, true to its Leninist ideological legacy, in its cultural policy pays great attention to the problems of progressive traditions. It renders active assistance to all initiatives offered in this respect by our scientific and cultural front.

The events, organized on a scientific basis with the assistance of our central party and government organs, on the occasion of the 1100th anniversary of the death of the Slavs' teacher, Methodius, represent such an initiative. The central purpose of these activities was to present an overall picture of the origins of the national life and culture of the Czech and Slovak nations, to develop the idea of Czecho-Slovak mutuality and cooperation and, last but not least, to clarify and emphasize the significance of Slavic ethnic groups and their culture in the evolution of European civilization. Also, to offer a convincing and scientifically based response to the various attempts to fabricate "theories" to localize the Great Moravian Empire outside of the territory of Czechoslovakia, and to offset the tendencies to deny the historical traditions of Czechoslovak statehood and reactionary attempts to question the originality of Slavic culture and minimize its active role in the formation of European and world civilization.

The most important scientific event was an international conference on the topic of "The Origins of Czechoslovak Statehood and the Role of Slavic Culture in European History." This conference was organized within the framework of UNESCO's important celebrations and was organically part of the commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the end of our national liberation struggle and the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army.

In almost 50 reports covering the fields of archaeology, history, linguistics, literary history, legal history, ethnography, arts, and others were presented with the most recent findings concerning the origins of the Czech and Slovak nations, the development and genetic foundations of Czechoslovak statehood, the origins and development of Slavic literature, and the significant role played by Slavs in European and world history. There were also reports assessing from different viewpoints the influence of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius and their pupils. The results of scientific research have made it possible to emphasize their political significance in the orbit of two worlds (Slavic and Germanic) and the cultural developments connected with the creation of the old Slavonic language and literature.

Especially interesting were two problem areas and findings discussed at the conference. First, the question concerning the Great Moravian tradition in our history, language, arts, literature, and statehood and the places these traditions occupy in the minds of the Czech and Slovak people. Based on numerous concrete historical facts, it has been proved that there is a relationship between the Great Moravian tradition and that of Czechoslovak statehood. The conference documented the close linkage of these traditions with the basic internal needs of our nations in the form of nation- and nationality-building (in the modern sense of the word). Both national and foreign researchers have enlarged our knowledge about the basis and specificity of Slavic production and culture over 1,100 years ago on the territory of our present-day Czechoslovakia. Based on the conference's findings, we can singularly conclude that the beginnings of our national, state, and cultural life and its further development culminating in a socialist state are naturally interlinked and are different stages of the objective historical process which, in addition to its qualitative differences, preserve a significant element of continuity. Hence, it is imperative to understand the Great Moravian tradition as a national and state tradition with a permanent and constantly topical ideological force.

Second, the proceedings of the conference have led to findings which justify the conclusion that the Slavs entered the historical stage as an important political, economic, and military power able to settle not only large areas but also gradually build strong states in the early Middle Ages in Europe, a force able to resist systematic pressure from the outside and at the same time to achieve a high degree of economic and cultural development. The Slavs possessed a refined taste in assimilating various foreign cultural influences, forming them in order to conform to their own notions and needs, and thus retrospectively contributing to the European civilizational process. The assimilation of cultural influences is not a testimony of passivity or feeling of inferiority but, contrariwise, a testimony of one's own internal strength, vitality, and active nature.

Another significant scientific event is the preparation and publication of a book entitled "The Great Moravian Empire and the Origins of Czechoslovak Statehood" (published by Academia Press in the Obzor (Horizon) series in 1985). A collective of leading scientific workers presents in this publication first-rate answers to many basic questions concerning the historical development of our nations. On the basis of numerous concrete historical facts, the authors singularly prove that the first largest and most highly developed Western Slavic state, the Great Moravian Empire, was founded and evolved on the territory of our homeland, that this state had laid down firm foundations for the statehood, education, and culture which gave rise to the Czech and Slovak societies greatly influencing the economic and cultural development not only of Slavic ethnic groups but also of the neighboring regions of Western Europe.

An exhibition entitled "The Beginnings of Slavic History and the Manifestations of the Great Moravian Tradition in the Creative Arts and Literature" (held in Nitra between 8 and 29 May, 1985) was another significant event. The exhibition's organizers started from the basic premise that scientific knowledge must be disseminated among the public at large. Such an attitude is an organic part of the social involvement of the socialist scientists and is an important part of socialist cultural policy.

The exhibition which was held under the sponsorship of the Slovak prime minister made accessible to the broad public hundreds of scientific documents explaining the development of the Slovak nation on our territory from the end of the 4th century to the 13th century and the influence of the Great Moravian tradition in literature and the creative arts until the present. The basic ideas which dominated at the conference and which are elaborated at the above-mentioned publications, especially the idea of the historical necessity of close cooperation between Czechs and Slovaks, the idea of the uninterrupted continuity of development of the Slavic tribes on the territory of Czechoslovakia covering a period of more than a millennium and a half, and the idea of the historic sources of Czechoslovak statehood formed the ideological base of the exhibition's theme.

The creators of the exhibition which covered an area of 2,300 square meters succeeded, especially thanks to the findings of vast archaeological research, in offering unmistakable proof of the riches of our culture whose firm foundations was laid down long before the arrival of the Avars. Visitors had

a chance to familiarize themselves with simple as well as technologically and artistically extremely demanding and sophisticated products demonstrating the mastery of our forebears, their creative inventions, and originality. The visitors were also exposed to many ideas making it possible to better understand the deep and historic roots of our contemporary life. They were also able to grasp the fact that the Czech and Slovak nations have their historic base here, in this country.

The exhibition, together with the other events, can be appreciatively classified as a purposeful and scientifically based effort which will be able to strengthen the feelings of national pride as a basic element of the patriotic and international conscience of our country's working people and youth.

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CSO: 2400/552

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

YOUTH VALUES RESEARCHED

Prague TVORBA in Czech 17 Jul 85 p 14

[Excerpt from an article by Jaroslav Hudecek: "Ideals, Life Plans and Goals of Contemporary Youth"]

[Excerpt] Ideals, life plans and goals are an extremely important part of the overall motivational structure of the individual. Their content, manifestations and aims are determined by social consciousness. In addition, they also reflect numerous influences related to the ontogenesis of human psyche, the level of development and the maturity of the individual.

Psychological, sociological and pedagogical research rightly pays attention to the problems of ideals, life plans, value orientation and other motivational characteristics. Such research is capable to explain at least to some extent the state of individual and social consciousness.

A survey whose aim was to determine the values of young people shows that they prefer life in peace, an orderly family life, interesting work, a higher level of education, etc. In another study, investigating 8 basic values (health, self-assertion, mutual relations, children, education, work, material well-being and spiritual maturity), the responding students emphasized that health, education and work were of greatest importance to them. When questioned about their way of life, the respondents placed the greatest value to creative life, socially useful work and activity. Preference was given to the positive aspects of the moral characteristics of the socialist individual (directness, truthfulness, openness, treachery, dishonesty, hypocrisy, egotism, etc, were the most often cited undesirable qualities. Fourteen- and 15-year old youth (in Czechoslovakia, Poland and the USSR) have shown that the majority have their own role model which is influenced not only by the character and the amount of social experience, the level of education, the abilities and other personal and ontogenetic peculiarities but also by gender differences. A representative research sample has shown that the contemporary adolescents choose parents as their personal models. The parental models show that the adolescents appreciate mainly the conative attitudes (help extended to other people, to children, to society, good upbringing of children, formation of a pleasant family environment); social qualities in relation to other people (civility, friendliness, sincerity, willingness, sacrifice, consideration, magnanimity, etc); attitude toward work (conscientiousness, industry, sense of duty); personal qualities (perseverance, tenacity, goal-directness, etc); qualities

stemming from one's abilities (knowledge and skill) and emotional attitudes (gaiety, kindness, tenderness, etc).

The above studies show that our young people, when ranking the values, emphasize the qualities which are more or less of personal nature or those which ensure the personal development of the individual. The significance of the value of a quiet life and life security, money and a high standard of living is definitely on the increase. Appreciation of spare time and of personal pleasures is slightly increasing. On the other hand (as was shown for example in an investigation among students of Charles University), the appreciation of one's own usefulness vis-a-vis the society and other people are on the decline.

The above studies, the results of which were published in our professional journals, show that we paid attention primarily to verbal answers of respondents. To get an objective picture, we must compare the responses with the respondents' real, everyday behavior and activity because the ideals, life plans and value orientation are not always followed by concrete deeds.

The individual, by determining his goals and ideals, by formulating his life plans through which he wants to meet his needs and interests, and by determining--depending on his aspirations--the specific possibilities and variants of future developments or the course of events of life, actively acts, enters social life as an active factor and thus affects not only self-regulation, formulation and development of the entire society.

"Our goal is to see our young generation to be fully identified with the ideals of socialism, to consistently continue in the work which started with our revolution, namely, in building socialism. We must see to it that our young people are imbued with the ideas of socialist collectivity, the determination to build and, if needed, even to defend the socialist fatherland" (Otto Cmolik, in Brno on 18 April 1985). Hence, we must continue to pay great attention to our work with young people, care about their healthy life orientation, lead them toward a responsible attitude toward our society and their own future.

1277

CSO: 2400/553

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

T-72 TANK TRAINING EXPERIENCES RELATED

East Berlin AR-ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 8, Aug 85 (signed to press 21 Jun 85) pp 30-35

[Article by Lt Col H. Spickereit: "I Got Him"]

[Text] NCO Matthias Waerzner, a tank commander, a communist, a secretary of the FDJ; four times decorated as the best in his class, holder of two classification badges; used to drive a T-55 tank and then switched to a T-72. Months of enthusiastic learning passed before the 21-year-old was able to say: I got him!

The Desire and the Effort

The change did not happen quite so suddenly. Tank commanders who had already had something to do with the T-72 were transferred to our unit. They told us enthusiastically about its engine capacity, the way it handled, they were enthusiastic about its smooth-bore gun, its optics. I had also read a few things about this new Soviet combat vehicle in MOTORKALENDER and my interest rose appreciably. And when it was rumored that a T-72 course would come I secretly hoped to participate. Why not learn something new once in awhile, why not be able to make comparisons, I thought. When I became one of the first in our regiment to be assigned to the retraining course I was right satisfied.

But I had no sooner mounted the tank than I became scared. All these many newfangled control elements! Boy, that's going to take a long time before you catch on, were the thoughts shooting through my head. But I have a principle: There is nothing one cannot learn! I am not one of those who say ahead of time: I cannot do it! One must have a firm will to be able to fulfill one's assignment. I have this ambition. I would not only like to simply sit out my 3 years of military service, but I would like to make something of it, to get ahead. This was the attitude which I took with me to the training course.

I learned the essential instructions for handling the T-72 by rote. I did the same with regard to operational actions. Whether it was the procedures to be used for taking on or discharging ammunition--this is actually a technological process--or those involved in automatic loading, or in handling the optics--I wrote everything in detail in my notebook and boned up on it hard. NCO Schade,



another course participant from our company, did the same. In the evening we questioned each other. The mutual support among all comrades was generally very good. Unselfishly, knowledge was passed on. The rote learning proved to be a suitable method. Schade and I received very good final marks and I was able to sum it all up by noting that one gets ahead by working intensively from the very first day and by using one's ears and eyes to steal [information].

My first trips with the T-72 involved 4 km during the day and also at night. But really: just like driving a car! There are no problems involving the gearshift and it responds immediately to the steering. Also, it runs quieter because the tracks are heavily sprung and tend to flatten out bumps. And the night vision device--an active-passive instrument--shows a clear picture; it is monumental, almost like in a motion picture theater!

#### New Collective, New Equipment

After the course I was once more given a T-55. I was not sad about this development. It was clear to me that new machines would not be available immediately everywhere and I was able to observe my neighboring company to see how they came to grips with the new vehicles. We often rushed into their workshops to interrogate the comrades about their experiences. I gained several new items of knowledge this way, like information about the tank's firing behavior while in motion or information regarding the cooperation between the optics stabilizer and the armament.

Then the day came when I, too, took on the responsibility for a T-72. A former loader from a T-55 tank was assigned to me as my gunner. He was Cpl Lothar Mielke. The driver, NCO Lutz Bemman, already knew a little something about the new vehicle. We agreed that we would not be rambunctious because after all we have the most modern piece of equipment and no one can best us and we decided to become a well-functioning combat collective even if, to be honest, this would turn out not to be pleasant.

The T-72 has only a three-man crew as opposed to the four-man crew of the T-55. So some duties have to be reassigned, all the way to maintenance work or fueling, or camouflaging. I gave Lothar my notes from the course and recommended that he copy them and learn them by heart. During firing training I utilized every minute to rehearse operational actions with him. It was no easy job since he found it hard to comprehend. He must master around 40 control elements and they were very puzzling to him.

#### Learning and Learning

However, the most difficult task was for the gunner to become independent. In the T-72 he has little visual contact with the tank commander and can, therefore, not ask a question when he is uncertain of something. When I give him the order "Combat-ready standby"--"Battle stations"--"Load," then I must be able to rely on the fact that he will bring the aiming mechanisms to bear on the target and will hold them there, that he will estimate and measure the distance to the target and correct the fire. And so I practiced the rapid and

primarily certain operation of all actions to be taken by him when combat orders arrive, I let him constantly monitor the functions of all control elements, I urged him to independently observe the fields of vision and field of fire and to report any targets recognized.

Lothar was very industrious. More and more frequently I was able to recognize from his roguish smile that he has now obtained insight in another area. After 8 weeks he was able to fulfill his duties functionally and had attained self-confidence. Sure, in special situations I still had to intervene but during his first firing exercise--four practice sessions by day and night--he scored three two's and a one. For me this was reassurance that our efforts had been worth it.

I was only able to offer theoretical advice to the driver. But Lutz had done much independent work and had studied the operating instructions. I also asked other more advanced drivers to help him. And he also advanced. We mastered all trips without a malfunction and without any dents. Although I was tank commander I was myself still learning. I resolved to learn as many of the subtleties of the vehicle as possible, including the peculiarities of automatic loading equipment, the optics and the stabilizer. I checked out when and under what conditions that exist in and around the tank one can fire and when this is no longer possible. I simulated accidents by turning off some dashboard controls. I practiced loading by hand--we did have a practice round on board.

#### What Required Harmony

All of these efforts brought us to a standing at the head of the company. I find that the harmony in our crew played a great role in this. Our unity helped us immensely to achieve rapid mastery of the equipment. We were open with each other. I personally was not too proud to learn from the gunner. With his 27 years of age, Lothar had had some life experiences. Prejudice or even false rivalry, as can be seen in many another crew, never even occurred in ours. Sure, when things got tough an occasional hard word flew back and forth, but they were soon forgotten. We three understand each other so well that we determined to visit each other after our military service and when I think about it we could have won the title of "Best Crew" after this half year of training had we decided to do so. I believe that in the beginning, when we became acquainted with each other, we underestimated each other. Lothar had great doubts about being able to grasp it all. But with his great industry he proved just the opposite.

It is a pity that I was not able to achieve this kind of harmony in my second crew. Lothar and Lutz were transferred and NCO Michael Lemcke and Pvt Udo Nawroth were assigned to me during the new training half-year. This gunner comprehended more easily than his predecessor and mastered the equipment well. But he does not strive for higher accomplishments; he is not interested in qualifying although he has the wherewithal. Michael Lemcke is an excellent driver. This fact sometimes seduces him into acting like a little king and being cocky. Naturally, we are trying to fulfill our assignments and we are not too bad, but as far as I am concerned we lack that last ounce of effort

required to complete things in order to become a truly outstanding combat collective.

#### The FDJ Provides Second Push

In addition to the training courses, the self-study periods and the help we provided each other our cause was also advanced by the FDJ circle. In our battalion a firing circle was organized for tank commanders and gunners and an equipment circle for drivers. Experienced officers and noncommissioned officers told us many a thing worth knowing during evening sessions. Anyone who wants to learn can benefit. I see this in NCO Walter and in Cpl Voelsch and Cpl Caseler, who are cooperating excitedly. As FDJ secretary I have an interest in seeing as many comrades sitting there as possible. After all, we want to advance in competition and we want to increase our combat readiness. Sometimes I am bothered by the lackadaisical attitude of some comrades who disrupt instruction; they forget we have an assignment to solve. This is not the proper way for an FDJ member! Unfortunately, from time to time, there are circle leaders who are poorly prepared, repeat subject matter, use the circle as a firing preparation exercise for the next day. It would be better to present more practical examples than theory. Then the whole matter would take on a more dynamic nature!

#### To Act Advisedly

As is the case with the T-55, norm times exist with respect to the T-72. And in both cases this means the perfect maintenance of technological processes and protective measures in handling equipment and weapons. I have adhered to these principles. In performing the "Mount" and "Dismount" maneuvers I believed there was a healthy degree of risk: Everyone fights as best he can and in accordance with what he feels capable of doing! A few bumps or bruises cannot count here but a mashed hand would be too much. With such an attitude we reached a status where our training exercises were free of accidents and yet we met all time requirements.

In my crews we discussed possible combat situations and we imagined what would happen if NATO tanks, such as the Leopard or the Abrams, were to attack us. We knew that if we were to be exposed during tactical operations this would be a minus on our side and we agreed to utilize all the opportunities provided by the T-72. I feel that both our firing exercises using 125-mm ammunition fired at tank targets, in which the key is the unity and the perfect uniform operation of the crew, have proven this. Both Mielke and later on I myself hit the target with the first round! These exercises, as well as the underwater operations which we fulfilled in an excellent manner, offer proof that we have mastered the new equipment. I am glad that I have "grabbed" the T-72. This was further confirmed for me by the fact that the company commander virtually did not need to correct us and that control officers were satisfied with us.

#### Seek and Ye Shall Find

In other words, it is worth it even if one or another finds the going difficult and when there are things which one does not like doing so much. I have

been in command of a T-72 now for a year. One must become used to this machine, one must know its insides, then one can obtain all manner of performance from it. One must work a lot independently. Every opportunity must be utilized to expand one's knowledge. Regardless of whether it is a T-55 or a T-72--when one sits for awhile in the vehicle one should endeavor to gain something new from practiced actions and well-known instruments. By this I mean one should improve one's hand grips, shorten operations to gain time like, for example, during mounting the vehicle, during the taking on of ammunition or during camouflaging and removing camouflage. Here, everyone must look for small detailed movements and actions which are best for him, the crew and the tank. But I also mean the search for and application of methods which are not always available in a regulation but which one can learn in direct contact with the vehicle. For example, the various ways of firing the machine gun or the movement of the vehicle when loading the gun manually or in the semiautomatic mode.

In a tank one is never finished learning. No one can say he knows the vehicle perfectly. There are always minor things, new knowledge--in other words, the job is one requiring research. One must not remain stationary.

5911

CSO: 2300/489

POLAND

# NINTH PLENUM DECISIONS ON YOUTH, WORK RECALLED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Jul 85 p 4

[Text] In recent years young people have gained many rights which have had a decisive influence on the conditions of their start in life and in their professions. Not all are aware of them; therefore we shall recall the most important of the decisions adopted since the 9th Plenum of the CC PZPR.

Everyone forges his own fate. Thus, after finishing college he can stay in a big city, knocking on the doors of various enterprises and institutions in search of work in his field. But he can also go to localities where people with his training are lacking, and then receive far reaching assistance. Graduates employed in localities on a special list (which can be examined in employment offices), starting six months after the conclusion of a work contract, can receive a loan of 120 thousand zlotys for setting up a household. Provision is also made for further assistance in the form of allocation of land, materials and credit for home construction, places in nursery schools and kindergartens, etc.

If someone, after finishing his studies, wishes to be self-employed, e.g. in a trade, he has a right to, among other things, obtain an appropriate workplace, priority in the purchase of machinery and equipment, and credit assistance. Graduates of medical schools also have received extensive rights, including the right to financial and housing assistance.

Many decisions were adopted regarding juvenile workers. The place of employment serves as their guardian if they are studying in school or vocational school. Among other things, they are given free time to attend classes, and the workplace bears the cost of transportation, housing and food. Those persons who distinguish themselves in their studies may be given special awards. The working hours of this group have been precisely determined. Persons under 16 years of age may not work more than 6 hours per day.

In recent years many youth work cooperatives have arisen. They provide their members an opportunity to work in fields of their interest, decent pay and the ability to do non-standardized jobs. This is facilitated by regulations for assistance in acquiring raw materials and machinery, and tax breaks. For example, the tax on salaries in student work cooperatives is limited to 3 percent (formerly 20 percent).

POLAND

PROFESSOR CLAIMS SOCIO-POLITICAL DIALOGUE NECESSARY FOR FUTURE

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17 Jul 85 p 2

[Article by Prof. Dr. hab. Leszek Gilejko]

[Text] In spite of the continuing crises we can and must think about the state of the Republic 10 or 15 years from now. This vision is ever more necessary for all of us, for society as a whole, and especially for the younger generation of Poles, which is becoming such a large group. We cannot rule out, but must presume, that this vision may become a factor which will strongly influence our present behavior, form our collective will, perhaps even a determination to realize that concept of the future. Without the concept of society based on certain values and ideals it is difficult to speak of progress, which ultimately is the way to achieve those ideals.

In the most general terms one can say that in the Poland of the late 1980s and early 1990s or of the turn of the 21st century we must not only achieve, but consolidate, i.e. make a part of normal, everyday life, those progressive social ideals which appeared under such dramatic circumstances during and after August 1980. They were manifested in the form of agreements, resolutions, and programs, and were expressed and recorded in articles, studies, etc.

A place of particular importance among these is occupied by the resolutions of the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR; this results not only from the role that the party presently plays and will play in the future, but also from the circumstances under which these resolutions originated and above all from their content. All of this adds up to a program of socialist renewal, it constitutes and will continue to constitute the basic factor determining the shape of the Poland of the future.

Of course this does not and can not mean that the party will reserve for itself the right to be the "sole representative of the truth", to insist that only it can be right. The experiences of recent dramatic events and indeed the difficult development of socialism in Poland clearly and unambiguously show that political dialogue and public debate, if circumstances permit, are a guarantee and a prerequisite for progress; they protect society and the party as well from the grave danger of ossification; their absence is a strong crisis-causing factor.

Thus an important feature of the future Poland and Polish society must be that it be a society of dialogue in which different progressive views may be publicly debated, where solutions for society as a whole will be arrived at through negotiation, understanding and a social contract. In spite of all its dramatic and controversial forms, the political struggle over its content, and slowdowns, the social contract born in the difficult days of the Polish crisis will remain a lasting value, a social institution for regulation, for creating unity on socially important goals, with awareness of and respect for differing interests. All of society, including those who fulfill the functions of management as well as those who do so rather sporadically, must learn this, and get used to it, and as experience shows, this is an exceptionally difficult education.

Polish society of the second half of the 1980s and the coming decade will be above all and to an overwhelming degree a self-managing structure. The economic reform from its very inception is to be a self-managing reform, and this characteristic of it is to be the basic precondition of its implementation. Without worker self-management, without its genuine existence and if it does not play a significant role, the reform will not be implemented. Worker self-management is not just an economic question. It is the basic institution of democracy in the economic sphere, and also a factor in the development of process of nationalization of the formation of the socialist enterprise. This matter is especially important not only as regards the importance of the economic base for the development of a socialist society, but also with respect to the existence in the future as well of a multi-sectoral socio-economic system. Under these conditions, strengthening socialist ownership through the development of self-management structures and socialization of planning acquires additional meaning. We will also face processes of the deconcentration of industry and other important activity related to the modernization and streamlining of the economy.

Strengthening the socialist character also affects cooperation in its various forms, and that also cannot be achieved without the development of self-management. Thus we may expect to soon be confronted with the problem of integrating and coordinating the various self-managing structures and institutions. This can only be achieved on the basis of presently existing principles which can successfully perform experimental functions. The initial form and starting point for integration are the self-management commissions of the Sejm and the people's councils, which together with the Socio-Economic Council form the initial system of consultation and evaluation.

The Poland of tomorrow is being born today. The end of the 1980s and the beginning of the next decade is indeed fast approaching. Thus in the near future we will be facing the turn of the century and the beginning of the 21st century. The time between now and then will be a period of achieving the goals and implementing the programs which are set forth today.

Among these, the principles of the upcoming 5-year plan are undoubtedly of major importance. The goals of that plan have been formulated correctly, and it is difficult to question them. Quite the contrary, they must be supported. However, the ways of achieving them have given rise to doubts. Inevitably the question arises as to what extent they take into account the effectiveness of the self-management reform, what additional measures will be required to increase its effectiveness. Achieving the basic goal, i.e. restoring the capacity for economic development, is clearly necessary, but it requires bold structural decisions, and these in turn are impossible without the approval of society.

To a considerable extent, the form and prospects for tomorrow are determined today. This is why it is so important to organize the social forces which will be able, and above all which will want, to realize the vision of the future. This is certainly a matter for the younger generation, for contesters and reformers, committed and enlightened people in the basic groups of society, especially the working class, who must create a positive set of forces for progress within the framework of the general formula of socialist renewal. All of this will inevitably be achieved in struggle, through conflicts and contradictions. This includes the struggle with various varieties of political opposition.

For the most important thing remains socialist renewal, even when achieved under conditions of struggle. But this struggle is not and can not be an end in itself. To lose sight of this strategic perspective would be very dangerous for Poland in the 1990s and the turn of the century.

9970

CSO: 2600/958



POLAND

# CHURCH SOCIAL DOCTRINE IN SOCIALIST STATE DISCUSSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6-7 July, 13-14 Jul 85

[6-7 Jul 85 p 5]

[Edited Roundtable Discussion]

[Excerpts] The PZPR's program contains a vision of future society. In the Polish reality, this vision is confronted with the vision of society presented by the Catholic Church. This confrontation takes place in various spheres of public life, and prompts fundamental questions about the factors which shape the church's social policy, its aims and the consequences of its attempts to put them into practice.

Dr Eulalia Michnowska, Professor Wieslaw Myslek, Assistant Professor Mirosław Nowaczyk, and Assistant Professor Stefan Opara conducted a discussion on the social doctrine and policy of the Catholic Church. Marek Jurkowicz took part in this discussion on behalf of TRYBUNA LUDU.

TRYBUNA LUDU: I suggest we begin our discussion by defining the aims of the Church's social policy. How would you define them?

Wieslaw Myslek: All concepts have certain contentions, which can and often do, undergo change. The Church's concept of social doctrine emerged and was defined when the Church put forward the idea of a Christian social system, which did not resemble either capitalism or socialism. However, recently the concept of "doctrine" is more often replaced with other concepts. For instance, the periodical LA CIVILTA CATTOLICA has published a very interesting editorial article, which has been translated into Polish and published in CHRZESCIJANIN W SWIECIE under the title "What Do the Church's Social Teachings Mean These Days."

Please note that the original Italian word "doctrine" has been translated as "teachings" on social issues. In its teachings, the Church is now departing from the idea of the third way--the idea of the so-called Christian social system. The Vatican backed out of this position during the Second Vatican Council. The adoption of the phrase "social teachings" means that the Church wants to suggest that its social thought is scientifically verifiable.

TRYBUNA LUDU: So is the use of the concept "the Church's social doctrine" still justified?

Myslek: I think that it is absolutely justified, for these teachings are of an ideological character. According to the Church this doctrine was conceived at the end of the 19th century. Why so late and why did the Church develop this doctrine at all? Because at that time the Church took sides in social confrontation, made a choice and supported it with its social thought, or social doctrine.

TRYBUNA LUDU: What kind of choice was it?

Myslek: To understand this, we have to refer to Leo XIII's statements, especially his encyclical "Rerum novarum" of 1891, which opened with a criticism of socialist thought. Leo XIII found socialism unacceptable both as a system and a theory--the encyclical rejected it completely. The Church adopted its social doctrine in an attempt to define its role in the conditions of class struggle, which was very intense in that epoch. The specter of communism was already beginning to haunt capitalists at that time. It was then too that the Second International and the massive workers' parties were founded. The working class movement was becoming so powerful that Engels even expected that it would be possible to take over power by parliamentary elections. That is why the Church felt anxious and suddenly committed itself to preserving a social system based on private ownership of the means of production. Later, the doctrine underwent slight modifications. During the Second Vatican Council, the trend towards the Church having a positive presence in various social systems appeared. Therefore, the doctrine could no longer be one of fundamental choice.

It seems to me that these days the Church is returning to its previous position. It is criticizing socialism in two ways, being directly critical of socialist theory and practice, and expressing indirect criticism by offering alternative solutions. The Church often resorts to the programs of various political movements, at present to social-reformism. The present social doctrine of the Church basically boils down to social-reformist ideas, which are being raised to the rank of a sacred ideology.

Stefan Opara: Viewing the social doctrine of the Church through the cognitive categories provided by Marxism, one can see that changes of the social being have enforced a certain characteristic evolution of this doctrine. The doctrine has to change following changes in the social situation and the development of the forms of class struggle in the world. I consider it an unquestionable fact that the Church used to be, is, and will continue to be a producer of ideology, that it will continue to order the believers' activities concerning earthly, and especially social, life. The Church has traditionally sided with those in power. Its 19th-c. turn from the positions of support for capitalism resulted in the first social encyclical. On the other hand, the ideological centers of the Church perceive the situation in the contemporary world as largely changed.

TRYBUNA LUDU: The contemporary world is divided, it has a complex internal structure....

Opara: Exactly. The Church cannot openly side with all rulers, for there are different rulers. The world is no longer hierarchically ordered or monolithically centered around leading imperialist powers. In this situation, the Church's social teachings have had to change. Being determined to preserve its role at the center, ordering the spiritual life of different groups of believers--both the oppressors and the oppressed, both the rich and the poor--the Church encounters certain exigencies. As a result, it has come to the conclusion that it stands above socioeconomic systems. This idea was proposed during the Second Vatican Council, especially in the constitution "Gaudium et spes."

In this way the Church tried to cut itself off from the conflicts of this world and escape into abstract slogans. These slogans are generally acceptable. Is there anyone who does not want to fight evil? Is there anyone who does not want justice? Is there anyone who does not want man to live a dignified life? The problem is how you understand these slogans. That is why the present-day Church embraces clericalists and reactionaries, who are using these slogans to oppose the forces of progress, but at the same time also offers some opportunity for progressive action.

Michnowska: The social doctrine of the contemporary Church relates these slogans, which could lead people to social justice, to the struggle for the freedom and dignity of man, to ideal realms of spirituality. Pushing the actualization of these slogans beyond death, the Church may adopt a detached stand in dealing with the practical demands of living people.

In the beginning, many ideologists in the Church interpreted the Second Vatican Council as a chance to overcome the opposition between the supernatural and the mundane. However, the council eventually consigned these slogans to the supernatural world, to the world of values, instead of letting them exist in the sphere of practical action by the faithful.

Nowaczyk: The church has not discarded the "third way" doctrine; I would say that it is discarded a certain interpretation of "the third way." "It is not supporting either capitalism or socialism. The church judges these systems from one angle--trying to determine whether they actualize the ideal of the subjectivity of labor and of man himself. It has found out that in the present situation neither system ensures as much subjectivity to labor as it should have. However, the church's existence above social systems conceals a measure of criticism of actually existing socialism, in which state ownership predominates. The church represents a syndicalist approach, professing the superiority of public forms of ownership, as being most likely to ensure the subjectivity of labor. This is a subtle way of criticizing socialism--in this case the object of criticism is socialist practice rather than socialism itself.

TRYBUNA LUDU: Is this criticism only theoretical?

Nowaczyk: No, it is not. In certain situations of great social tension this approach may be interpreted as support for the movements which demand a self-managed society, contain antistate accents, etc. Anyway, this approach is deeply rooted in the tradition of the church, which has always been concerned with the organization of a civic rather than political society. As I have to simplify matters here, I will distinguish two models of the church's activity. On the one hand, the church acts through its organs, which are formally more or less autonomous--Christian trade unions, Christian political parties and all kinds of Christian associations. On the other, the church also acts through organizations, movements and all sorts of associations which are under the direct control of the church hierarchy.

TRYBUNA LUDU: Are these two kinds of activity pursued at the same time, or is one of them considered more effective and therefore more commonly resorted to?

Nowaczyk: I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the church is now entering a stage of direct involvement, though the form of this involvement differs from the so-called Catholic action of the past, for instance. An ideology of spontaneous movements emerged under the influence of the developments of the 1960's and 1970's, young people's revolts and protests against organized social structures. The church has jumped at the idea of a remotely-controlled spontaneous movement. One classic example is the Italian youth movement "Comunione e liberazione." To some extent, the so-called oasis movement is its Polish counterpart. This is an orientation towards the future.

[13-14 Jul 85 p 5]

[Excerpts] The Church's view on the social situation change. What causes this evolution of views? How does this evolution influence the dialogue between Catholics and Marxists? Finally, how does the Church's social doctrine relate to daily life in Poland and the world?

Myslek: It should be stressed that not all Catholics or even all priests approach the Church's doctrine in the same way. In principle, political theology rejects the Church's social doctrine, as does the immense movement called the theology of liberation, interpreting it as a defense of the capitalist order. The movement of Christians for socialism approaches the social doctrine of the Church critically, too.

I believe that this doctrine has few original components. The Church has formed it by assimilating certain concepts or theories of social processes developed outside the Church. The Church has assimilated these theories and has then presented them as its own stand. Local Churches have modified this doctrine to suit their own needs. For instance, the Polish Episcopate's doctrine on the national issue is a far cry from the doctrine formulated in the Vatican. Agrarian ideas have been incorporated in the Church's thought; the influence of old National Democratic concepts is also visible.

On the other hand, we must not forget the existence of the Catholic left. The left, too, is trying to adapt the Church's social doctrine to its views. This is possible due to this doctrine's vagueness. It avoids concrete judgments on some issues and may be interpreted in different ways.

Nowaczyk: Yes, it is very important that we remember the Christian left, whose modern history begins during the French Revolution; the Christian left was recorded in Catholic literature in the wake of the 1842 revolutionary movements and has now bred various forms of Christian socialism. The Christian left developed particularly after World War II. Many of these groups accepted socialism without reservation and thought that participation in the class struggle was justified. In the past, these movements were often elitest, while now they have won mass support, especially in the Third World. A certain interpretation of Christianity has inspired radical social ideas and revolutionary practices.

After all, the Church is not only the hierarchy, but also millions of the faithful, most of whom work. These people do not agree that faith should be reduced to politics, especially the kind of politics which disagrees with their interests and aspirations. Various surveys have shown that believers, or at least many of them, in Poland too, do not expect political actions from the Church and do not want it to assume the role of a political party. That's the direction of evolution.

TRYBUNA LUDU: In the context of what has been said here, how could we perceive the prospects for the current dialogue between the proponents of the Marxist and the Catholic social doctrines?

Nowaczyk: On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Secretariat for Non-Believers, John Paul II stressed the importance of dialogue as "dialogue for salvation," but also said that the Church had not abandoned the task it set itself 20 years ago--the task of dialogue with "people of goodwill" on such fundamental values as peace, justice, freedom, etc. Although these ideas may be variously interpreted, they can be a framework for dialogue between believers and non-believers, Poland as well; this dialogue has the full support of the highest Church authority.

Michnowska: It seems to me that if we want to talk about dialogue involving the Church's social doctrine, we have to remember certain ideas voiced by Church theologians both before and during the Vatican Council. Some theologians stressed that the Church should enter into dialogue with Marxism first of all because Marxism has such an attractive social theory to offer to contemporary people. The Church has to appreciate the value of Marxism to prevent being outmaneuvered by those people who want to be active in the contemporary world.

TRYBUNA LUDU: Is there anything similar to the Polish version of the Church's social doctrine?

Myslek: I think that we could reconstruct it from pastoral letters of the Episcopate concerning social issues.

Nowaczyk: One conclusion may certainly be drawn from what we have said so far: the Church's social doctrine has evolved to such an extent that believers committing themselves to the building of socialism do not need to experience a conflict of conscience. Do the pastoral letters and other Church documents

indicate the existence of a vision of a socioeconomic system which would be an alternative to socialism? I think that they are just an attempt to modify the system, perhaps radically, but only to modify it.

Opara: However, you could ask yourself whether, this doctrine being so abstract and neutral, Catholics are really more or less free to choose their political orientations. Certain worrying trend may be seen here. In practice, the supporters of reactionary views are still feeling better in the Church than the supporters of progressive ones. Although the Church's verbal declarations are abstract and acceptable to various political orientations, in practice conservative forces which try to restrict the progressive activity of Catholics still prevail. The theology of liberation has been condemned ruthlessly and passionately. This is also visible in Poland: the Church treats reactionary priests and progressive ones differently.

Justice used to be represented as a blindfolded lady; the Church's conscience may be represented as a lady with a bandage over one eye. The Church cannot see or, seeing, it does not condemn negative trends on the political right. It is still not inclined to fiercely condemn any political practices of reactionary or imperialist forces. Until today, the Church has not officially adopted a position on those Catholics who are supporting the government guilty of genocide in Vietnam, or on the country which first produced the atom bomb, and was the first to use it, and now supports genocidal regimes in many countries of the world. On the other hand, the Church, or the Vatican to be more precise, has issued a so-called Ratzinger instruction, which contains an unprecedented charge against socialist countries, calling them the disgrace of our times. So the Church sees the more or less exaggerated bad sides of socialist countries, but fails to condemn world imperialist forces, which are guilty of horrendous evil.

Michnowska: But you cannot say that the Church does not see evil. That this is not true is evident in the position of the U.S. Episcopate, which has pronounced itself clearly in opposition to the essential aims of the Reagan Administration's internal and foreign policies.

Nowaczyk: But sometimes the reverse is the case. For instance, the French Episcopate's stand on theological issues is reactionary, much closer to Reagan than the stand of the American bishops. That is why I believe that we should examine concrete issues, evaluate facts. In our times, it is impossible to find a common denominator for all trends.

Myslek: Yes, it is true that diverse attitudes are observed even within individual Churches of certain countries. This also holds for the Churches of socialist countries.

Take, for instance, the Hungarian Episcopate. This Episcopate, too, is obliged to guide itself by the Church's social doctrine. Nevertheless, it has made several statements which may be considered an endorsement of socialism. This is in great contrast to the Polish Episcopate, or at least part of this Episcopate. I am pointing to this fact because I think that at present there is no uniform Church doctrine, but that this doctrine has different versions, that

it is modified in different countries and that the model which functioned in the years of the Second Vatican Council is already a matter of the past.

TRYBUNA LUDU: But it seems that the Church's social policy does have certain tangible traits, which are visible in Poland, for instance.

Myslek: Yes, we can see this if we take a look at practice. I myself have noticed that the Church in Poland has recently been withdrawing from those spheres of activity where it would have to cooperate with the state.

There have been several such spheres, e.g., contacts with expatriate Poles, the recent emigration, combatting social ills, and charity work. The Church tends to build a system of social intervention to operate parallel with that of the state. It has been doing this with regard to combatting alcoholism and other social ills, charity work and welfare care. It has been trying to support its activity in these spheres with a kind of a biased ideology. For instance, it has been making comparisons with the situation of the Church in the 19th century. But that situation was much more complex than could be inferred from the current Church press. This press has been preoccupied with the martyrdom and struggle of the Church and at the same time the martyrdom and struggle of the nation. It has been suggesting that the Church used to be the nation's only mainstay. The homeland was only in Church, while everything outside the church was just a foreign country. The present situation is compared to this.

This kind of approach to history suggests that now too those who are feeling uncomfortable in Poland may find themselves a home, not only in the sense of religious community, but also in the political sense, in the Church. It so happens that the tendency to organize activities and institutions parallel to those of the state goes hand in hand with certain ideological stereotypes which sanction these attempts.

This tendency hinders state-Church cooperation and may encourage those who would like to transform the doctrine of the Polish Church into an alternative doctrine to socialism.

On the other hand, the Catholic left is trying to focus on those aspects of the Church's social doctrine which it has in common with practical socialism. This trend should not be ignored, for it creates a foundation for dialogue and cooperation with Catholics. After a long period of stagnation and problems, more and more common points between Catholics and Marxists are being identified.

Opara: Examining the evolution of not only social theories, but also political activities of the Church in Poland, one can identify several reasons for serious concern in connection with the present and the future. First, some statements on social affairs made by the Polish Episcopate, by top Church officials, are a reason for concern. These statements contain few constructive patriotic ideas, but a lot of demagogical criticism. From the practical point of view, it is also worrying that anticommunists, even anticommunist atheists feel good in Church. Some priests consider any anticommunist a holy man and let him speak from the pulpit, even if he is an atheist. This is very strange.

TRYBUNA LUDU: Are these isolated incidents or do these facts testify to some general trend?

Opara: There is a lot of evidence that the Church is still very reserved in dealing with those Catholics who are actively committed to the cause of socialism, who think that socialist values converge with certain traditional evangelical values. This makes it more difficult for us to pursue our general national aims. Unless we have citizens' support, we cannot fight against the crisis and build a Poland of the future, which should be an affluent country with a good position among states in the next century. Is the Church going to continue to discourage rather than encourage civic commitment?

I believe that we will overcome the economic crisis in Poland no matter what. Is the Church going to cooperate or interfere? I think that the answer to this question will prove how much the Church really cares about national interests.

Putting it plainly: the Church's attitude towards the struggle against the crisis and towards undertakings designed to strengthen our country economically and politically is the real test of the Church's and Church officials' patriotism.

CSO: 2020/215



POLAND

# MINISTRY PROPOSES NEW WAGE POLICY

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 29, 21 Jul 85 p 3

[Article by Irena Dryll]

[Excerpts] The recurring wage-policy question of how much to pay and for what is back on the agenda--this time in connection with preparations for the coming five-year plan period [1986-1990]. How thick our pocket books are going to be? From aggregate data, it transpires that--statistically, on the average--no revelations can be expected and that the real wage growth is to be rather small. But the Wages Ministry says major changes will be introduced in central pay policy. The starting point for the whole concept of change is provided by a ministerial analysis of wage patterns in the economy and of pay policy tools, led by PFAZ [wage-growth tax]. Both the patterns and the tools have come under fire.

A host of examples quoted in the analysis show that inter-sectoral and inter-regional differentials deepened further in the recent years, while wages within enterprises got flattened--a consequence, among other things, of an artificially low level of the minimum pay. The wage patterns do not stand the test. First, looking at the problem from the economic angle, it turns out that the relationships between wages, labor productivity, and production costs have yet to be reformed. Inefficient work and outdated, poor-quality production are still paid at excessive rates, while there is too little differentiation in rewarding very good work and production. There seem to be no interdependence between the growth of average wage on the one hand and the growth of labor productivity and enterprise profits on the other. The highest wages do not necessarily have to be paid at enterprises with the best financial-performance indicators. It is the sectoral affiliation--not the financial result [profit or loss]--which determines the average-wage level. In the group of top 500 [processing and manufacturing] enterprises, steelworks are within the top 50 in terms of average wage, whereas food-industry plants with financial results often close to those in the metallurgical sector, occupy places between 250 and 300.

## Chasing the Average

Secondly, the wage patterns do not stand the test of living standards. As a result of the absence of a mechanism linking wages to prices--which is coupled with a practice under which the wage growth in the socialized sector is determined in annual and longer-term plans--the wages have been chasing the prices according to an uneven pattern. In many branches, the growth-rate of wages is higher than that of costs of living while in other ones it is lower. The last two years' stabilization of real incomes in macro terms, is not reflected in sectoral breakdown. The branches with falling real wages include forestry, road and inland-water transport, wood and paper, etc.

And thirdly, the wage patterns are untenable in psycho and sociological sense. Here are some manifestations of this aspect: relatively low labor productivity and the consequent shortage of workers in some low-paid trades and jobs; "negative selection" in some occupations; decline in work ethics and work requirements; increased labor turnover; and stagnation of productivity among many workers feeling they are paid insufficiently.

In many cases, the discussed patterns have degenerated into disproportions. And against the backdrop of wage disproportions--nationally, regionally, sectorally or within enterprises--a chase after the average has started. To reach the average wage in the economy or in a given region has become the goal of many enterprises, and parent bodies as well, exerting pressure for PFAZ-tax concessions which are claimed to be necessary to counter labor turnover or keep production going. Wage disproportions also fuel the desire to improve one's financial status through changes in income-distribution pattern rather than through work; they give rise to sentiments of condemnation of all high incomes which treated as morally censurable and contrasted with destitution, believed to represent the epitome of virtue. The PFAZ tax has indeed proved effective as a barrier to wage growth--labor productivity increased 5.9% last year on the 1983 level, against a simultaneous growth in socialized-sectoral real wage by just 0.7%--but it has hardly favored efficiency. Among other things, this is reflected in the increased extent of exemptions from regular PFAZ rules.

Last year (outside agriculture) the exemptions were granted enterprises with the combined workforce of 2.7 million. This year, the figure is 7 million. The 1984 concessions amounted to more than Zl 30 billion, and in addition a part of overdue PFAZ payments from that year (the total stands at Zl 36 billion) is now going to be written-off.

It is this diagnosis of wage disproportions and weaknesses of the major wage-forming instrument that has provided a basis for the philosophy of change in central pay policy. In accordance with the principle of pay according to one's work, the wages in comparable jobs must be proportional to the effort involved in work and its effects, and not to the average pay. Nor should the wages be determined by sectoral affiliation. If pay is to become the principal point of reference, an accurate measurement of labor

input becomes an elementary condition not only for the shaping of wage-related patterns but also for a success of the whole concept of change. At the heart of the matter are methods of job evaluation (of which more later).

The introduction of this philosophy of change is to be served by appropriate instruments. Some of them influence the size of wage funds (formulas for the forming of wages and bonuses), other ones the way these funds are to be distributed (job evaluation, wage grading), and still other the final result of this distribution, that is wages and personal incomes (wage tax, personal income tax, indexation). All of them are to help the policymaking Center to control wage patterns--in the name of efficiency growth and consumer-market rebalancing.

### Wage Funds

Proposals of new arrangements determining the amount of funds to be earmarked for wages have been prepared for several months not only by the Wages Ministry, but also by the Planning Commission and the Economic Reform Minister. The Finance Minister has also had some comments. The Reform Minister's proposals have often been presented and analysed in this paper, e.g. in an article by Mieczyslaw Mieszczankowski (Zycie Gospodarcze No. 26-85).

The proposals of the Ministry of Labor, Wages, Welfare (and also of the Planning Commission), in their basic points, are concurrent with them, providing for: simultaneous application of several formulas for cost-forming wages and two variants for distributed-profit bonuses, dismantling of the broad range of concession and preferences, and stabilization of pay-related "rules of the game" over a longer period. I am not going to discuss the differences between individual concepts, as they are now in the process of elimination through successive "approximations." By the turn of this month, final decisions are expected on which formulas and which variants will be chosen. \*

Let it be only mentioned that the differences concerned--or still concern--such issues as the principles of indexation, the formula for the base amount of wage fund, the formula for tax-free threshold, and the extent of tax concessions.

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\* Ed. note: The article was written prior to the July 31 Sejm session at which amendments to some economic regulations were passed. It turns out from vague press reports that a progressive tax on cost-forming regular wages will range between 40% and 500% above a normative threshold set in advance and the rate of tax on profit-financed bonuses will be between 100% and 500% above the threshold.

In each ministerial variant, a tax-free threshold is envisioned on account of wage indexation--but only the minimum wage. So, increased costs of living will be automatically compensated only for a small group, as few people receive the minimum pay these days. In the opinion of the ministry, "there should not be an automatic indexation of wages for all, as this would fuel inflation and blunt the motivational function of wages."

Is this fear of heightened inflation warranted? According to Prof Mieszczankowski (Zycie Gospodarcze No 26-85), in a period of inflation the growth of costs of living is bound to be compensated--in the form of either official indexation or enforced indexation. The professor says that we have an officially-unrecognized enforced indexation. "But it is not this indexation that has been generating the inflationary processes. In fact, it has been a consequence of the latter." The introduction of a universal tax-free threshold would only sanction the existing state of affairs, in addition to bringing a lot of welcome effects.

"If we want the growing costs of living to be compensated exclusively by increased productivity of labor, then enterprises will be hit and will resort to manipulations." This is how one manager commented on the matter at a recent session of the PZPR Central Committee's social policy commission. Among other things, the commission discussed an important question of whether to enforce concrete wage-taxation formulas on enterprises or to allow them to choose from among several variants. Opinions were divided.

For the time being, however, there is only a single proposal--providing for no alternatives--that a concrete formula should be chosen by the Labor Minister, acting in cooperation with the Planning Commission Chairman and the Finance Minister. Those three are going to pigeonhole thousands of enterprises and assign to them wage-taxation arrangements. Shouldn't this be left for the enterprises themselves?

In the discussed area, changes are also planned in arrangements concerning profit-financed bonuses. Without going into details, it may be only wondered whether the Labor Ministry proposals (concurrent with those of the Reform Minister) do not take away from worker councils their legally-granted powers in this respect.

There is a novel proposal for directorial awards and bonuses to be paid from enterprises' distributed profits, and for their levels to depend on the assessment of the enterprise concerned. The linkage between directorial pay and profit is welcome. But it is not specified who, according to which criteria, and how frequently would have to assess the enterprise, for its director to receive a periodic bonus. A question arises: what, if any, influence on directorial profit-financed bonuses is to be exerted by the worker council? Many councils are very critical of the fact that at present all elements of their directors' remuneration are set in practice by the parent body, often in total disregard of council opinion.

Another aspect of the problem under discussion concerns the amount of funds for wages and salaries in the nonproductive sphere. According to the ministerial proposal, the average pay there should be related to productive-sphere wages. The patterns and growth-rate of wages in individual sectors might be based on job-evaluation findings, and the desired structure should be achieved gradually. "In this connection," says the ministerial paper, "a unification is needed for legal acts defining wage patterns in some sectors of the nonproductive sphere--state administration, culture, and education."

This is tantamount to the proposal to alter Sejm-law provisions under which the above listed sectors have their own pay-revaluation mechanisms. Teachers' salaries, for example, are related to wages of engineers and technicians, and clerical salaries to the nation's average pay. The unification may be justified, but those customized arrangements were introduced only recently. And constant changes in the "rules of the game" are risky.

#### Job Evaluation

Labor Vice-Minister Prof Stanislaw Borkowski says: "The findings of job evaluation must provide a skeleton around which the rest will be built. But the passage to job evaluation should only be evolutionary--and none else." What is this job evaluation, and why does it provoke defensive reactions? Why is it accompanied by declarations about evolution, step-by-step transition, caution, etc? "Job evaluation is a process of systematic analysis and assessment of the content of a job--for remuneration purposes--so as to ascertain its position in a set of various jobs," writes Prof Mieczyslaw Kabaj. The measurement of the "content of a job" is not an easy matter, as its individual components do not lend themselves easily to computation. The goal of adopting a unified method of job evaluation for all employees of the socialized sector of the economy is as ambitious as it is difficult. But such an attempt is proposed for 1986-1990--by both the Labor Ministry and the Planning Commission. What is planned is a universal and compulsory job evaluation according to an analytical point-based method, to be applied in all work establishments. The results of evaluation would provide the basis for wage scales and grading tables, which define basic wage rates at enterprises, with account being taken of the latter's financial situation and position in the local labor market. "Irrespective of this," reads the relevant passage of the proposals, "the policymaking Center will apply a unified methodology of job evaluation, in order to analyse labor input in key workposts in both the productive and nonproductive sphere and make assessments of those posts in points, reflecting differentials in the complexity of work." On this basis, an initial model of wage relationships has been designed, the final version of which is expected by the end of this year.

## Poaching on Another's Preserve

Each attempt at basing wages on an objective footing and comparing labor inputs contributed by various workers in an enterprise or workers in various occupations deserves attention and support. But will the compulsory nature of the evaluation system and its compulsory method not scare people off a good idea? Among other job evaluation methods, there is a universal one, UMEWAP-85, designed at the initiative of the Labor Ministry on the basis of foreign and domestic experiences. It is praised by many--as long as it does not have to be introduced on a compulsory basis.

There is one more aspect. How is the compulsory evaluation, complete with compulsory wage scales and grading tables, supposed to coexist with enterprise wage systems which employ their own wage scales and grading tables. Such systems have been introduced in more than two thousand enterprises, and the ministry wants to boost them further starting next year. Next, there is the question of collective-bargaining agreements. Under the ministerial proposals, they are to be concluded at a sectoral level and broken down into details in enterprise wage agreements. If accepted by labor unions this will mean a three-tier pay operation at enterprises--job evaluation, systemic arrangements, collective-labor agreements. At each of these tiers there is a specific hierarchy of goals and assessments. But the job-evaluation results are supposed a priori to provide the overriding criterion. It does not seem easy to convince people to accept this, and to "fit" job evaluation with its wage patterns into the existing formal and legal system. One will have to constantly poach on another's preserve--of labor unions, worker councils, or managements.

That does not mean that nothing should be attempted. But--I agree here with Vice-Minister Borkowska--patience and evolutionary approach are needed.

One major proposal in the ministerial concept is to restore a proper role to the minimum pay, and to base on it the wage scales. So far, the minimum pay has been depreciating by the year. In 1985, its level is estimated at 28.4% of the average wage--nearly 10% less than two years ago. Raising it is important for economic as well as social reasons, as in the present state of affairs the existing grading systems are distorted. Hardly anybody is paid according to the minimum wage, and the first three pay grades are but dead letters.

It is proposed that the minimum wage should be raised in stages, starting next year (to an estimated Zl 6,000) and ending in 1988 (Zl 12,600). The lowest-to-average wage ratio would then reach 40%, and at that point current indexation of the minimum pay would be set in motion.

Prior to that the minimum wage should be subject--once a year--to mandatory correction by a centrally-set proportion. The ministry wants this category to be instrumental in wage forming, and not--as is the case today--to be a basis for the revaluation of many social benefits. If the existing

linkage [between the minimum pay and the level of social benefits] were to be maintained, the increase in the minimum pay to the proposed level would entail a social-services cost of Zl 625 billion in 1986-1990. If this parametric linkage were abandoned and replaced with lump-sum expression for social benefits, the additional cost would be Zl 120-138 billion. The cutting of the "welfare train" of the minimum wage has its advantages (for wages) and shortcomings (for social policy). Thus the ministry is now poaching on its own preserve.

The ministerial model of pay policy deserves attention--if only because, proceeding from a correct diagnosis, it draws on instruments not applied so far, and puts forth qualitatively new proposals. Sometimes it seems too abstract, remote from pay realities, and short of concrete "paths of access" to the assumed goals. But in other passages, it seems to be aimed at tightening the rain on wages from above, thus undermining the principle of the reform which states that the main thrust of pay policy should be focused on where the funds for wages are generated. In sum, the issue is well worth being thrashed out.

CSO: 2020/13

POLAND

# FAZ TAX LOOPHOLES, FRUSTRATIONS DETAILED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish No 27, 7 Jul 85 p 3

[Article by Jacek Mojkowski]

[Text] Names are often misleading in Poland. The Labor Redeployment Fund (FAZ) is a good case in point. What it does is mainly deploy the work-force against management, management against ministries, ministries against other ministries, or enterprises against banks.

The Fund, established in the present form in the beginning of 1982, was supposed to be a source of money for possible unemployment benefits, the financing of job retraining, or for creating new jobs. Over a period of three years, it has become simply a tax and, like any tax, is a rewarding target for complaints and easy criticism. Some people say that there are 60 billion reasons for eliminating FAZ: last year enterprises had to pay 60 billion zloty in FAZ tax.

It is not easy to comprehend what FAZ is about, because its complexity is proportionate to the mess in wages.

In the most general terms FAZ was invented in order to prevent enterprises, made autonomous by the economic reform, from eating away their whole profit and to force them to allocate at least a part of it to development. This was the reason for imposing a tax on the wage fund of those enterprises where wages are going up while production is not, or even is actually declining. In other words, those at the top imagined that the FAZ tax would be a kind of economic bridle that would not allow enterprises to pay their workers money for nothing and would tie earnings to productivity--a kind of safety valve against inflation. However, at the bottom, in enterprises, people insist that FAZ is not a bridle but a plain piece of rope that strangles them.

The general principle is this: people can be paid more only if production increases in comparison with the corresponding period of the previous year. After many changes, the following formula was finally reached: when production increases by 1%, wages may go up by 0.5%; when the former increases by 2%, the latter may be raised by 1% and so on.



Of course, management may pay more than the indices allow, but it will be punished by having to pay FAZ tax: millions of zloty out of the profit will end in the state coffers for hikes of several hundred zloty per employee if there are no documents confirming the growth of productivity.

NIK auditors say that in many enterprises FAZ devours as much as 90% of profit, leaving nothing for development, welfare, housing, etc.

A director of a machine tool factory explains: "At the Labor Ministry they ask me why the heck I pay so much to the people who are not able to earn their living.

I reply that a wage is nothing more than the price for labor and, like all the prices in Poland, this price has been going up. Unless I watch how much the neighbor next door pays his staff, some morning I will wake up empty-handed and without people to do the work."

In one chemical company in Katowice voivodship, the average pay is Zl 16,500 a month while the voivodship average is nearer Zl 34,500. It is not surprising then, that the workers are turning in their notices in great numbers if they can earn twice as much in a rival firm.

"In this situation," the manager says, "I should go to the workers and tell them, 'If you produce more, I will pay you more.' But that's rubbish, it's not possible to increase output in a company in which some chemicals are brewing in vats around the clock and, even if people worked like mad, they couldn't accelerate the chemical reactions. You can produce more if you build new installations, but we are not alone in having no funds for development projects."

Meanwhile, the company's trade unions are keeping up the pressure and showing to the manager that if their wages only rise by 5% (which is all the firm can afford) and inflation is the expected 13%, their real wages will fall. So they found out that if their wages were to keep pace with the growth of prices, the enterprise would have to pay 600 million zloty in FAZ tax, but its total profit is only 500 million. Nobody could say where the missing millions would be found.

"The workforce has not totally disintegrated yet," the director goes on to explain, "because the enterprise is embraced by special regulations authorizing me to extend the length of the notice. Therefore, those who want to quit have to work for another nine months after handing in their notices. But let's not fool ourselves. They don't really work, they just pretend to."

Of course, the director is a realist and did not tell the whole truth. Namely, he made no mention of the fact that he went to the Ministry of Labor to get special concessions. And concessions are like hernias in Poland: they are to be had but not boasted about.

The concessions in FAZ levies were introduced in order to help enterprises in the transitional period of introducing the reform. This was termed "allowing for the handicap at the start" or "levelling of disproportions." There is no need to emphasize that all the departures from the FAZ rules were to be allowed only on an exceptional basis. It did not take long to discover that the exceptions became the rule and the observance of the rigid rules an exception.

It has been calculated that last year over a half of all enterprises, 4,200 altogether, took advantage of various concessions. According to another indicator, seven million employees of the socialized sector (out of a total of 11 million) benefited from the concessions.

How can one make his life easier? For example, an enterprise may try and talk the Minister of Labor into authorizing it to raise the wage fund not by 0.5 but by 0.6% or 0.8% for every 1% of production growth. Specialists call it "rectifying the coefficient."

Another method consists in obtaining the minister's consent to a growth of the wage fund by 4-9% (depending on the branch of industry) without having to pay FAZ tax. However, any extra growth above that ceiling is punished by steeply rising taxation. An expert will say that it has been possible to secure a "higher tax-free threshold."

Last year the most skilled negotiators could also seek a "lump-sum deduction." In a nutshell, the minister had at his disposal 15 billion dollars, from which fund he gave injections of cash to enterprises which found themselves in a particularly difficult situation with regard to wages. The demand for these funds was so huge that before anyone knew it, not 15 but 30 billion zloty was spent.

At present the lump-sum deductions are no longer available, but it is still possible to apply for a "rectified coefficient: or a higher "tax-free threshold." The head accountant of a big company which makes lamps says that his director would be an outright fool if he did not seek to benefit from all these opportunities.

The growth of wages depends on the efficiency of an enterprise, the prices it gets for its goods, and the concessions it can secure.

"Directors rarely are their own enemies," explains the accountant, "so they start with the easiest things, i.e., they try to get concessions. Then they raise prices and change production structure to evade price controls. Only as a last resort do they seek to increase efficiency."

One has to fight hard to get to the counter where the concessions are dispensed. The queue is made up chiefly of those whose wages are below the average for a given region ("wages are not competitive, labor turnover is rising, we kindly ask for a positive verdict, ..."). They are followed by those who for some reason or other cannot increase production every

year (e.g., the meat processing industry, transport enterprises, municipal services, retailing, construction, etc.). Then there are those who belong to traditionally powerful industries (coalmines, steel industry, engineering), who have long benefited from various preferences, not unrelated to their strong backing and strong elbows.

A separate group are the frustrated ones, i.e., those who believe that the reform made losers out of them. In a motor industry plant in Pomerania I am told that the weak one will never grow stronger when you weaken the strong ones. They believe that this is what the FAZ tax does: supports the weak and destroys the good ones.

Their frustration (and that of many others) stems from the fact that, to some extent, their undoing was of their own making. "Instead of pumping money into wages, we decided to modernize the plant. And where did we end up? The inflation took everything away and in effect we neither allowed the people to earn more nor have our investments come to anything. We should have made huge increases in 1981 and ignored the calls, the overall situation, etc. Then we would not face labor shortages now and production would somehow go ahead."

Other people from the industry regard them as naive fools: third place overall in terms of production and last place with regard to wages. So why had they not paid the people then? They insist that they looked after state funds and abided by the regulations. Now they have drawn three conclusions from the past. The first is that if there is any regulation that can be bypassed, it must be done so quickly. Second, it doesn't pay to worry too much about the future, just milk the present. The third conclusion is that life is much more convenient at the bottom. Then every improvement is hailed with joy. When the curves are going up, the superior authority will certainly spare no effort to keep the bankrupt alive. On the other hand, those who are doing a good job need not hope for any handouts.

Recent additions to the ranks of the frustrated ones are those who "had the base corrected." In order to comprehend what this means, let us look at the example of the grinder factory, where the people decided to do away with the fact that their earnings were lower than the average for their industry and region and in 1983 they raised the wages by more than was justified by production growth, but in advance they set aside some tens of millions of zloty to pay FAZ tax.

Pay they did and they hoped that in the following year they would at least have a higher FAZ-free base. But they were wrong: they forgot that one lasting feature of the FAZ tax is that it changes all the time. A decision passed at the beginning of 1984 said that the base for calculating FAZ is not the actual wage fund for the preceding year but only the FAZ-free part thereof. Which is to say that if you paid FAZ in 1983, you're going to have to pay again in the following year, irrespective of any additional FAZ tax for additional price hikes during that year.

For the grinder factory this means more or less that in 1983 they paid some Zl 100 million but the following year already 200 million (of which 100 million was owed to the "corrected base").

"From the Rzeczpospolita supplement I have learned that I'm potentially a bankrupt," said the grinder factory director.

The principles governing FAZ tax are made more stringent every year in the belief that it will thus be possible to arrest the growth of wages. Meanwhile, the effect is the opposite: the more the screw is tightened, the longer the line of those begging for concessions.

A delegation coming to the Ministry of Labor is typically composed of the managing director, his deputy for financial affairs, head accountant and branch secretary. They are followed--or more often preceded--by letters of recommendation from Party authorities and trade unions. In the line outside the door one can learn that it pays to get the support of a Sejm deputy for the concessions one seeks or the recommendation of a Sejm commission.

"Increasingly often, I find myself thinking in terms of connections," says one of those waiting for an audience.

In a certain meat processing plant it was calculated that if they wished to pay all their taxes, FAZ contributions etc., then they would not only have to spend their whole profit on it but should actually cut each salary by 2,000 zloty a month. Nobody would dare do that. Therefore the Labor Ministry agreed to a plan for 610 enterprises to pay FAZ tax by instalments. In April 1985 it was decided not to collect FAZ at all from the enterprises which were deepest in trouble.

The characteristic propensity of all privileges and concessions is that they multiply uncontrollably. And it could not be otherwise--I'm told at the Polish Academy of Sciences Institute of Economic Sciences--so long as in the struggle against inflation we keep focusing our attention on wages and FAZ. In reality, inflation is fuelled by old investment projects, the deficit in the stage budget and the relative ease of access to credits for privileged customers of the bank.

Thus there remains the question: what is going to happen to FAZ next? That there will be some tax on wages appears to be a foregone conclusion. This, in fact, was mentioned at the Poznan conference. On the other hand, it is hard to say how it should go on operating, similarly as it is difficult to achieve crystallization in an excessively diluted solution.

CSO: 2020/13

POLAND

PZPR ORGAN LAUDS SOVIET ECONOMIC EXPERIMENTS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Jul 85 p 6

[Article by Jerzy Wisniowski: "Innovative Experiments"]

[Text] (From our correspondent in Georgia [USSR])  
It is time to look the truth in the eye. I do not have any qualifications for the position of vice minister. Frankly speaking, I had doubts as to that some time ago already but now I have irrefutable proof of it. Black on white or more strictly speaking, black on blue since the computer screen in front of which I was sitting was blue. But perhaps I should start from the beginning.

Thus, I found myself together with my colleagues--accredited correspondents in the USSR--in the Institute of National Economy Management in Tbilisi which has been in operation for barely 4 years now. In this institute, I was seated in front of a computer screen and offered to participate in a game. Very briefly speaking, on the basis of data presented by the computer on the organization of the transport of agricultural products, I was to make the best decision given circumstances where one of the transport elements fails. The loss of face was complete--unfortunately, mine and not the computer's.

What does this have to do with the duties of the vice minister which I mentioned in the beginning? In so far as that among the 300 to 350 people who take part each year in considerably more difficult--as I was assured--games and exercises with the assistance of the newest computer technology, vice ministers also participate in them along with other representatives of the managerial cadre. I was placed in front of a screen for fun. However, during real courses or seminars which last 3 months there is, of course, no joking around. Classes run 8 hours daily and include, besides participation in games which are related to the current economic situation of the republic, creative discussions and an exchange of experiences. It is the rule that upon completion of the course, every participant writes a scientific paper which he must defend before a highly competent and demanding republic [Georgia] level commission.

## To Learn Modern Techniques

"At the basis of teaching," states Prof Kadzagidze, rector of the institute, "lie concrete facts." What matters is simply that we learn modern methods of management in the present conditions of production.

This problem is treated with total seriousness in the republic. A task has been set which proposes that every specialist employed in the national economy raise his qualifications every 6 years. Considering the fact that there are 240,000 specialists employed in the Georgian national economy, it is not difficult to imagine what great intellectual and thus, economic potential is elicited by the implementation of this task which today in the republic constitutes a party and state directive.

Our visit to the Elwa Scientific-Technical Association in Tbilisi convinced us how very indispensable this potential is. Besides individual kinds of computers and robots, entire analytical-control systems, microcontrols [mikrokontrolery] as well as some other wonders about whose application (and also of the other above mentioned devices) I have a rather poor understanding. How fortunate that others understand these things properly. The director of "Elwa" informed us that the devices manufactured here are already being used in over 1,000 factories in all of the USSR. However, "Elwa" is a remarkable plant. If it is permitted for a layman to exert himself to make some generalities in these matters, then I would say that the value of the institute's actions should be perceived in that in energetically entering the 21st century, it is not losing sight of the realities of the present day. The essence of entering the scientific-technical revolution does not, after all, depend on that one day abacuses [liczydlo] are thrown down from the desk of, let us say, the head bookkeeper and in their place a computer is positioned. The essence of the matter is based, I would think, on the fact that in understanding and seeing the increased range of tasks capable of being performed, the head bookkeeper will ask for this computer himself and, of course, be able to use it.

Hence, the close relationship of the institute to the average day of said bookkeeper, if we are to understand the managerial cadre of different levels by this name.

The Institute of National Economy Management has among its achievements not only an original concept of cadre improvement but it also boasts the theoretical foundation of numerous economic experiments of which 30 are in operation in the economy of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic. Some of these experiments deal with such specific, though rather well-known phenomena as, for example, the improvement of the quality of tea harvests or innovative shaping of the agricultural product type and assortment in a given region; other experiments delve into the depths of problems associated with the necessity of introducing institutionalized changes on a republic scale in management and planning.

## The City Coordinates

Here, I would like to concentrate briefly on the so-called Potijan experiment (from the name of the city of Potij) whose effects have already crossed beyond the boundaries of the republic.

Hence, in Potij and also in other cities of Georgia, there are production plants that are subordinate to the Union ministries [ministerstwa zwiazkowe], to republic level ministries and--as we would say it in Poland--those that belong to the "region" [terenowka]. These differences in subordination are the result of the differentiation of tasks standing before Soviet industry and, in principle, there is no problem with the fact that they are differentiated. However, the problem lies in that enterprises with varying degrees of vertical subordination operate in one region next to each other and sometimes against each other since--that's life--in various spheres, it comes to push and shove, which is well-known in our country [Poland] as well and in which it is often those who are stronger and not necessarily those who are right that win.

The essence of the Potij experiment is that a coordinating-managing agency has been created at the city level for all enterprises regardless of to whom they are subordinate.

This agency is in constant contact with enterprises; it analyzes on a current basis where spare processing power [moc przerobowa] appears, where material reserves arise and where shortages or standstills occur. The transfer and supplementing of power and material or even people is carried out in accordance with the needs (with consideration given, obviously, to individual managements responsible to the state for the implementation of plans). At the same time, the consent of decision-makers on the republic or even union-wide level is not necessary. The experiment has proven to be very successful. The managers of the "regional" ministries have found not only opportunities for themselves in its implementation but also, more importantly, the "key".

## The Whole Philosophy

In listening to these explanations, one of my colleagues from the Western press asked Prof Kadzagidze a question: "When will you have complete decentralization in the management of the national economy?"

"Never," answered the professor with conviction. "The problem lies not in replacing the system of central management, which by the way proved itself well under extreme conditions, with a system of full decentralization but on the skillful reconciliation of central planning with the advantages which decentralization carries with it."

Therefore, if the 8-day stay in Georgia allows me to generalize, than I believe that in this formulation made by the professor, the entire philosophy of the Georgian experimentation is expressed: to cast aside decisively that which one has experienced; to confidently base oneself on that which has proven itself and to boldly step on as yet untrodden paths if they shorten the way to a set goal.

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CSO: 2600/954



POLAND

# THIRTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF WOJSKO LUDOWE COMMEMORATED

Warsaw WOJSKO LUDOWE in Polish No 6, Jun 85 pp 10-14

[Interview with Lieutenant Colonel Dr Stanislaw Poweska; name of interviewer not given; date and location not specified]

[Text] The 35th anniversary of WOJSKO LUDOWE is an opportune occasion to show how the monthly has fulfilled its duties. In place of the usual anniversary, we offer our readers an interview given by Lt Col Stanislaw Poweska, author of the doctoral dissertation "Czasopismo kadry zawodowej WP WOJSKO LUDOWE w systemie pracy ideowo-wychowawczej wojska" [The Publication of the WP [Polish Army] Professional Cadre WOJSKO LUDOWE in the System of Army Ideological-Educational Work], written under the direction of Gen of Brigade Prof Dr habilitatus Leslaw Wojtasik and compiled and defended last year at the Feliks Dzierzynski Military Political Academy. [signed] The Editorial Staff

[Question] How has the monthly developed and matured?

[Answer] In some sense, WOJSKO LUDOWE has taken over the heritage of two different monthlies published by the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army: PRACA POLITYCZNO-WYCHOWAWCZA W WOJSKU and NASZA MYSL.

The periodical PRACA POLITYCZNO-WYCHOWAWCZA W WOJSKU, published since January 1945, was aimed at political-educational officers. It provided guidelines for the contents, forms and methods of ideological, educational and combat-training activity. In August 1946, the publication's profile was altered and its name was changed to PROBLEMY I ZADANIA: MIESIECZNIK OFICERSKI. Its purpose at that time was to sharpen the political-educational skills of all officers of the reborn People's Polish Army. In June 1947, however, the original title PRACA POLITYCZNO-WYCHOWAWCZA W WOJSKU was reinstated and its original profile as the organ of the army's political-educational apparatus returned.

Until now, NASZA MYSL, a sociopolitical and ideological publication for officers issued since May 1947, took the place of PROBLEMY I ZADANIA.

Its motto was the following: "Today's officer cannot stand aside from politics and be only a passive observer. He cannot swim on its surface from port to port. He must swim in the main current of the politics that is right for the state and nation and he must be a major arm of such policy, resolutely and without compromise" (K. Swierczewski). NASZA MYSL was the organizational-instructional organ of the Social Work Circles.

Following the PPR [Polish Workers Party] and PPS [Polish Socialist Party] Unification Congress, the need arose to create a publication that, by presenting the party's interpretation of Polish and army issues, would act as an instrument for the ideological-educational and social work of the party-political apparatus and leaders. Thus, by order of the minister of national defense, the two publications named previously were liquidated and in June 1950, WOJSKO LUDOWE was created. The task of the new monthly was to propagate Marxism-Leninism, military science and the issues of party-political work. Meanwhile, its primary function was to supplement and elaborate on military subjects discussed in the daily press and to supply the cadre with the indispensable materials for their ideological self-education and ideological-educational work.

A characteristic feature of the material published in WOJSKO LUDOWE between 1950 and 1956 was its strong link with the problems facing Poland at that time, the domestic situation, determined by international factors. The publication enriched and expanded the store of knowledge of its readers, influenced the molding of world view, spread the idea of leadership and competition in the military, served the exchange of training-educational experiences and strengthened discipline and the observance of the principle of one-man leadership.

In the sphere of international politics, subjects of continual attention on the part of the editorial staff were the peacetime role of the USSR, the remilitarization of West Germany and the aggressive actions of imperialism, as well as the consequences of the "cold war."

The monthly offered consultation and answers to readers' questions on issues of ideology, world view, science, economics, culture and the military. During that period, cooperative efforts also were embarked upon with people of science, culture and journalism from the civilian community.

Changes in Poland's sociopolitical situation, the increase in political and military interests and the growth of the intellectual level of the cadre made the profile of the publication too narrow. Taking note of the maturation of society's needs and the expectations of its readers, WOJSKO LUDOWE was restructured gradually from a GZP [Main Political Directorate] monthly aimed at political officers into a sociopolitical monthly for officers in general.

From 1957 to 1971, the material published in the monthly encompassed the entire body of political-military issues, army issues, ideological questions and questions of world view. Moreover, it expanded the army's political thinking to include not only the art of war and army issues, but also the army's internal problems, the processes of the formation of ideological-moral

cohesiveness and its working-class character and it cultivated values that corresponded to our national customs and traditions.

The publication presented changes in the army made due to the modern scientific-technological revolution, organizational progress in military training and education and the increased numbers of the cadre that completed secondary school and higher. The material published accentuated the role of the party-political apparatus in ongoing processes and the meaning of ideological-educational work in the army.

Current issues of educational work, always related to army training and economic tasks and the sociopolitical events in Poland and throughout the world, were a subject of the periodical's continual interest. Issues of party work and subject matter emanating from the 3rd, 4th and 5th congresses of the PZPR and the 20th and 25th anniversaries of the LWP [People's Polish Army], as well as the 20th and 25th anniversaries of the PRL, also were given lively attention.

The editors gained recognized scientific and journalistic experts as co-workers. At that time, Zbigniew Zaluski began his cycle of articles on "The Seven Polish Cardinal Sins," and later his "Notes from the Year 1944," both of which later were published in book form. Janusz Rzymanowski wrote the column "Strictly Open."

The development of the army and the gradual increase in the educational level of the publication's readers, as well as the professional ambitions and activism of the editorial team led by Col Edward Skrzypkowski and the events of the end of the 1970's all hastened the shift of the monthly to a higher level of editorship and improved its profile.

From 1972 to 1980, the thematic-content material of WOJSKO LUDOWE became revitalized due to the climate of renewed political, economic and cultural activism following the Sixth PZPR Congress and the favorable climate in the party and in Poland. The journalistic material of the monthly in broad outline was characterized by an overview of the defense and sociopolitical functions of the socialist army.

The dynamically changing level of general and military education of the cadre and, relatedly, its high quality requirement spurred new, ambitious ventures. Articles on the subject of the entire makeup of military life took up questions of political and military training, military discipline and interpersonal relations. The topics of military training, raising the qualifications of the cadre and the scientific organization of work put in a frequent appearance on the pages of the monthly. In the sphere of ideological issues, the most topical questions of the social sciences, philosophy, ethics, scientific communism, the ideological struggle and peaceful coexistence were presented. In the field of history and traditions, familiarity with the national past was deepened and the progressive traditions of Polish arms were popularized.

The subject matter of the periodical always corresponded to the sociopolitical situation in the world and to the tasks of ideological-educational work.

The real situation in Poland led the editorial team to do research and make modifications. That is why, for example, the August 1980 events, and particularly their sociopolitical consequences, became for the publication an element that revised the profile. This was expressed immediately in the substantive deepening of the treatment of issues related to the overall shape of army life, through the consideration of the internal and general social determinants of the army's operation, through the realistic, but not deliberate view of the issues of the development of social processes in Poland and, above all, in the aim to increase the intellectual value of the cadre and provide it with the indispensable arguments for conducting ideological-educational work in the period of severe ideological and political struggle imposed by the external enemy and domestic antisocialist opposition.

The confrontational situation in the ideological and political sphere at the beginning of the 1980's strengthened the role of WOJSKO LUDOWE as a military ideological-political publication of the armed forces cadre. Its frequency increased and the substantive level of articles analyzing the operation of the Marxist-Leninist principles of the socialist system and the ideological essence and organizational function of the party rose. The published material from this period is marked by its offensive stance and treatment of numerous aspects. Material from the area of international affairs that expresses the ideological and military threat to peace from the imperialist states supplements its subject matter. Issues illuminating and popularizing the political-state system of the PRL were a clear feature of the content of the periodical. The activism of many authors was directed towards molding the historical awareness of readers.

A special feature of the journalistic writing of WOJSKO LUDOWE is the subordination of content to the formation of ideological, committed attitudes among the professional cadre and to the enrichment of knowledge, as well as the improvement of organizational and educational skills. Moreover, the pointing out in this writing of many of the dimensions, goals and mechanisms of struggle and diversion in the ideological, political and economic spheres is noteworthy. This ideological reinforcement, a format that aims to consider the thematic needs of military ideological-education work, a high degree of professionalism in its methods of presentation and the substantial competence of authors--in recent years all these factors have become a special determinant of the contents of the periodical.

[Question] Who is our reader?

[Answer] A basic condition for the fulfillment by WOJSKO LUDOWE of its assumed function is its scope. According to the intentions of the distributor (GZP WP), this periodical should reach the party-political military apparatus, the social party aktiv, military leaders at the basic organizational-structural levels, all group directors of institutional ideological-political education, the academic-teaching cadre of the WSO [Higher Officers' School] and training centers, officer cadets in their last year of WSO studies, the cadre of military studies programs and the aktiv working in territorial defense elements. The intent is for the periodical to foster the broadening of political-military horizons and to awaken interest

in the social issues of the military, regardless of the military specialty of readers.

Given that the periodical is directed primarily towards the professional cadre, a representative sampling of this group was studied in a sociological poll. Through this poll, it was determined that, in 1983, WOJSKO LUDOWE reached 61.8 percent of the entire cadre, and that 28.3 percent had continual contact with the periodical, 33.5 percent had occasional contact and 34.9 percent did not read the publication.

Among the regular readers of WOJSKO LUDOWE, the cadre at the political level dominated, followed by the commanders of subunits and staff officers' cadre. With regard to the composition of the groups of personnel, officers read the publication most frequently, officer cadets and noncommissioned career officers are more infrequent readers. Among the occasional readers of the monthly, the commanders of companies and platoons represent the most numerous group, followed by staff officer employees. In terms of personnel groups, senior officers precede junior officers and cadets. It is surprising that more than one-third of the cadre does not read the monthly at all. This applies in particular to noncommissioned career officers and some subunit commanders, as well as to the employees of the party-political apparatus, but to a far lesser degree.

An analysis of the collective results showed that regular readers dominated over occasional readers in their strong emotional ties. This confirms the need for continual contact with the periodical. Occasional readers came into sporadic contact with the monthly or came into contact with it by accident or out of necessity. For this reason, their advice and suggestions with regard to the publication were considered with much caution.

The analysis of the structure and readership conditions of the military press, including WOJSKO LUDOWE, indicates a number of possibilities for improving the status quo. At present, the real consumer is the sociopolitical aktiv and the military professional cadre. The portrait of just such a reader defines precisely the status of the periodical. The subtitle "a monthly of the professional cadre" should be considered as the aspirations of the editorial staff, whose hopes should be fulfilled, and not only because the anniversary is being celebrated.

[Question] What do the readers think about the publication?

[Answer] As the study showed, the professional cadre draws information from WOJSKO LUDOWE across a broad spectrum. In order to avoid unreliable assessments, the readers themselves were asked about this. They look to WOJSKO LUDOWE most often for articles on international issues, military-political issues, economic matters and historical questions. They also are interested in the entire picture of military life and in ideological questions.

In general, readers assessed accurately the frequency of appearance in the publication of subjects from their fields of interest. A comparison of opinions stated on the contents of the publication with the results of a

journalistic analysis of the contents of the monthly confirms that the consumers of the monthly have a good grasp of the kind of issues discussed in it.

The overall situation for meeting the informational-cognitive needs of readers is highly favorable. Nonetheless, it varies throughout the particular subject fields. The vast majority of those polled gave positive marks to the degree to which informational-cognitive needs on ideological subject matter are met. Issues related to Marxist philosophy received the highest positive assessment in this field, while subject matter related to world view and the study of religion was rated lower.

Reader needs in the area of international questions also were largely satisfied, although the treatment of questions of developing states was somewhat unsatisfactory.

In assessing the exhaustive nature of information on military-political issues, the majority of those polled expressed markedly positive opinions, especially with regard to the popularization of the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact and arms budgets and armaments in the major NATO states. In the opinion of readers, informational needs on the subject of the armies of capitalist states outside NATO were not satisfied, nor were their needs regarding the military budgets and armaments of these states, as well as issues related to the training and education of soldiers in the leading NATO state armies.

According to the opinions of those surveyed, WOJSKO LUDOWE satisfies well the interest of readers in the operation of the state political system. The ideological-program assumptions and work of the PZPR receive high marks. The portrayal of the work of political parties, sociopolitical organizations and youth organizations, however, receive lower marks.

Material on the subjects of the ideological-political, moral and military education of soldiers and articles popularizing the work of the party-political apparatus received the highest marks in the assessment of meeting readers' expectations in the area of military issues. The publication received a lower assessment for its popularization of issues of quartermasters' services, military economics and social/essential issues of the military, the work of the ORW [Military Dependents Organization] and the moral-psychological preparation of soldiers for acting on the contemporary field of battle.

Among the extensive historical subject matter and material on the traditions of Polish arms and the People's Polish Army, questions of the history of Poland and the Polish workers movement were given a high evaluation. Readers were dissatisfied with the topics related to Polish military history and contemporary history.

The informational needs of readers were met most poorly in the areas of economic and cultural issues. The relatively critical assessment of readers regarding these subject groups corresponds to the results of the studies on the content of the publication. Ultimately, however, in spite of the

varied degree to which informational-cognitive needs were met, positive evaluations generally predominated. Consequently, in terms of published content, WOJSKO LUDOWE fulfilled the expectations of its readers to a high degree.

Moreover, the thematic restructuring of the periodical to serve the needs of military ideological-educational work and the realities of the ideological and political struggle was received very favorably by readers. In this regard, the expectations of 89.3 percent of those surveyed were met.

Readers did not give such unquestionably high marks to all forms of action taken by editors. Thematic shortcomings were noted. Views regarding editorial staff initiatives were diverse. True, almost two-thirds favored continuing subject cycles, but half of these felt this effort to be of limited value. Brochure-type editions of the "Little Library of WOJSKO LUDOWE" were approved of by the majority of readers, but one-third questioned their usefulness. Less than one-third of the readership favored our editorial staff competitions.

Readers' opinions on the thematic departments of the publication against the background of the general assessment of the editorship of the monthly were interesting. Of those polled, 70.2 percent stated that the publication is edited in an interesting manner, but 29.8 percent did not share this opinion. However, no one department of the periodical received a suitable majority of the selection of evaluations. This attests not only to the diversity of readers' opinions, but also to the need for editorial work to improve the editorship of the publication.

[Question] What position does WOJSKO LUDOWE hold among other periodicals?

[Answer] In considering the role of the periodical as a source of information, one cannot forget others that are, of course, relatively comparable. The most apt comparisons relate WOJSKO LUDOWE to the civilian or military sociopolitical periodicals of a party nature that have a similar format. The empirical data proves conclusively that in terms of its range of subjects, both among the professional cadre as a whole and among the readers of WOJSKO LUDOWE, the monthly precedes ZAGADNIENIA I MATERIAŁY DO PRACY PARTIJNO-POLITYCZNEJ W WOJSKU and IDEOLOGIA I POLITYKA. These are followed by FAKTY, WYDARZENIA, ŻYCIE PARTII and NOWE DROGI.

The position of WOJSKO LUDOWE among all military professional periodicals in the readership structure and for satisfying informational-cognitive needs is interesting. (Fourteen titles were studied, from PRZEGLĄD WOJSK LADOWYCH to WOJSKOWY PRZEGLĄD PEWNICZY inclusive). WOJSKO LUDOWE holds third place in terms of its scope among the professional cadre, preceded by PRZEGLĄD WOJSK LADOWYCH and WOJSKOWY PRZEGLĄD TECHNICZNY. It is followed by WOJSKOWY PRZEGLĄD HISTORYCZNY and MYŚL WOJSKOWA.

In the structure of meeting the reader needs of the cadre, the monthly places second after PRZEGLĄD WOJSK LADOWYCH, while it precedes WOJSKOWY PRZEGLĄD TECHNICZNY, WOJSKOWY PRZEGLĄD HISTORYCZNY and MYŚL WOJSKOWA.

Among professional military periodicals, WOJSKO LUDOWE was found by readers to be considerably more favorable in terms of scope and potential for satisfying informational-cognitive reader needs. While this phenomenon should neither be overrated nor underrated, it should be included among the aktivs of the monthly.

[Question] Is WOJSKO LUDOWE helpful and to whom?

[Answer] The transmission of content in combination with the emotional attitude of readers to [periodicals] always determines the effectiveness of their impact. This tie always comes into view between the assessment of the degree to which informational-cognitive needs are met and the degree to which their practical usefulness is perceived.

An advantage of the periodical is its widespread utilization not only in individual contact with the reader but, quite often, in personal, official and social professional activism.

The rate of utilization of the periodical in ideological-educational work conducted by readers is very high (96.5 percent answered favorably). Likewise, a very large number of readers (94.1 percent) use material published in the monthly for self-education and self-improvement. Moreover, 92.7 percent of the readers draw ideas for organizational-official work from the content of the periodical.

The readers use the information obtained in basic forms of ideological-educational work, such as ideopolitical training programs, political information and lecture work.

To a lesser degree, the content of the periodical is used as subject matter for other forms of ideological-educational work. These shortcomings could be considered in future program-thematic work of the editorial staff. In ideological-educational work, most generally the employees of the party-political apparatus and subunit commanders make use of the publication.

The extensive thematic scope of the publication regarding humanistic, sociopolitical and military issues is for readers a rich source of information and it serves as a stimulus for the process of self-education and self-improvement.

The vast majority of readers assessed this contact with the periodical as highly favorable and a source of knowledge enrichment, aid in the molding of personal views on important sociopolitical matters and inspiration for further research and self-education.

The employees of the party-political apparatus, the teaching cadre of WSO and WUML [Evening University of Marxism-Leninism] and the commanders of subunits use the periodical most often in self-education.

The general suitedness of the publication for self-education is rated according to the level of its use in the ideological-educational work of readers. Studies have confirmed a correlation between these two fields.



To a somewhat lesser degree, the subjects published in WOJSKO LUDOWE serve to unleash intellectual activism in the work community and help increase the organizational-leadership skills of those polled.

The extensive utilization of the periodical in self-education and ideological-educational work correlates with the skills of readers in expanding and improving the workplace. However, the monthly plays a less evident role in this regard. The following forms in which the content of the periodical is used in individual official work are notable:

- continuing the complex process of self-education and self-improvement, i.e., one's improvement based on accumulating useful material and applying it to the needs of one's official position;
- stimulating the activism of subordinates under the influence of the material that one has read and mastered;
- assessing the actions of subordinates through the prism of one's own feelings and reading and official activities.

The improvement of the individual workshop under the impact of the content contained in the monthly is characteristic of employees of the military in party-political and teaching elements: teachers at WSO and WUML act to stimulate others. Training-testing and evaluative work is characteristic of the cadre at the commander level.

Among the readers of WOJSKO LUDOWE, the graduates of military academies and the cadre that has served many years in professional service most actively master its contents and use it in official work.

[Question] What proposals were made by readers?

[Answer] Readers spoke out with great seriousness and concern on the several dozen proposals aimed at raising the substantive level of the periodical, at increasing its role in their personal professional and social activism.

Those polled feel that the publication of materials containing the necessary arguments for ideological-educational work in the military may have the greatest impact on attracting more readers and on the periodical's suitedness to the official work of the cadre. Moreover, they anticipate that polemics or articles presenting interesting (but responsible) author viewpoints will largely determine the attractiveness of the publication. According to the general opinion of readers, the key to attracting readers and to the practical usefulness of the publication lies in the substantive correlation of content with the needs of ideological-educational work and their effective transmission to readers.

With regard to other questions, those polled suggested the need to present in the publication the social and humanitarian requirements for leadership, direction, combat readiness and the moral-political element, as well as to popularize the ideological-educational value of science and technology. All in all, readers favored those substantive efforts whose content does not diverge from the tasks of ideological-educational work, but becomes their

clear, emotion-conveying interpretation and satisfies the expectations of readers. Moreover, they ascribe special importance to what they envisage as simple endeavors, that are nonetheless difficult for the publisher to implement, such as the matter of moving up the date of delivery of the periodical to the reader to the beginning of each month. The opinions of 90 percent of the readership cannot be ignored.

Readers were in favor of the proposals to establish a prize for the "author of the year" and to have readers vote on the "article of the year."

The consumers of the monthly are not in favor of searching for ways to make WOJSKO LUDOWE attractive, although they are very demanding with regard to its substantive and technical levels. They expect various kinds of contact between decisionmakers, the editorial staff and very broad circles of readers.

The readers of the publication did not present a dominant view regarding the profile of the monthly, although they opted for WOJSKO LUDOWE as a military, ideopolitical, theoretical organ.

8536

CSO: 2600/921

POLAND

# SECURITY SERVICES MONUMENT INSPIRES SEMINAR

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Jul 85 p 2

[Text] "The Struggle to Defend People's Power 1944-1948" is the theme of the popular education seminar held on 16 July at the headquarters of the Main Board of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy (ZBoWID) at the initiative of the Propaganda Commission of the Social Committee for Building the Monument to "Those Who Gave Their Lives in the Service and Defense of People's Poland."

This seminar brought together scholars--historians and political scientists--with participants in the struggle against the reactionary underground in the first years of the existence of People's Poland.

In opening the meeting, the Chairman of the Social Committee for Building the Monument, Ret.Gen. Wacław Czyżewski, affirmed that the years 1944-1948 will long be remembered in the history of the Polish people. For that reason each research initiative, among which the present seminar should be included, contributes new information, generalizations and assessments to expand the knowledge of our nation.

In their reports Professor Władysław Gora, Colonel Professor Kazimierz Sobczak and Professor Docent Zenon Jakubowski present the origin and history of the class struggle in Poland from 1944 to 1948 and the struggle against the political and armed underground with particular emphasis on the participation in it of the people's Polish Army. Approximately 22,000 combatants died in the struggle for the ideals of socialist revolution, mainly workers, peasants and teachers, members of the PPR and the ZWM, Polish Army soldiers, officers of the Civil Militia, the Militia reserves and the Security Service.

It would be a mistake, however, as the discussion emphasized, to consider the struggle which took place from 1944 to 1948 as a purely armed struggle, though the armed struggle had a particularly strong impact, as the war-weary nation knew no peace and continued to shed blood in a fratricidal war and bloody struggle with the reactionary underground. Throughout the length and breadth of Poland one can find graves from those years. The idea of building a monument to be unveiled on 20 July of this year on the eve of the 41st anniversary of the Manifesto of the Polish National

Liberation Committee (PKWN), as was affirmed, thus arose also from a moral imperative, especially since the present and near future confront us with equally difficult problems.

The belief was expressed that the monument will come to symbolize the memory of those who paid the highest price, their lives, for socialism in our fatherland.

Attending the seminar were: CC PZPR Secretary Henryk Bednarski, and the head of the CC PZPR Ideology Department Wladyslaw Loranc.

9970

CSO: 2600/958

POLAND

BRIEFS

SPORTS HALL FIRE IN NOWA HUTA--The AWF [Academy of Physical Education] hall under construction has caught fire due to thus far undetermined reasons. The floor, walls and installations have been destroyed. Losses exceed 5 million zlotys. Losses caused by the fire in the warehouse of the cooperative of the handicapped "POWSTANIEC" in Kopiecko (Zielona Gora province) are estimated to be more than 6 million zlotys. Among other things, this fire destroyed 100 tons of wire, half a ton of glue and over 1,000 square meters of window glass. Overall, 68 fires were registered yesterday in our country. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13-14 Jul 85 p 6] 9761

AWARD TO SOVIET POLITICAL SCIENTIST--Ambassador of the People's Republic of Poland in the USSR Stanislaw Kociolek has awarded the Golden Decoration of the Order of Merit of the PRP to Soviet scientist Ivan Nakonieczny in Moscow. For many years, Ivan Nakonieczny has been an academic instructor in our country, first in the Institute for Political Sciences and from 1982 on in the Main Center for Methodology. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13-14 Jul 85 p 7] 9761

FRONTIER GUARDS GATHER--Meritorious WOP [Border Guards' Troops] trainees (enlisted men in active service, representatives of the professional cadres and civilian employees, a delegation of Soviet border guards, Navy personnel and veterans) are attending a meet at the WOP Baltic Brigade in Koszalin. On 12 July, participants of the meet visited Kolobrzeg. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13-14 Jul 85 p 8] 9761

STATE TRIBUNAL DESCRIBED, LAUDED--At Wiejska street, various meetings are held which sum up the long and extraordinary term of 1980 through 1985. The meeting of the Presidium of Parliament with the State Tribunal was one of those. The tribunal set up in 1982 is an important institution which is new in Poland. It rules on the punishment of persons holding the highest state offices for violating the constitution and the laws. Chairman of the State Tribunal Wlodzimierz Berutowicz outlined the work of the tribunal to date on reviewing the relevant legal issues as well as the proceedings before the tribunal. A panel of judges of the first level was convened to hear the case of former prime minister Piotr Jaroszewicz and former deputy prime minister Tadeusz Wrzaszczyk when a parliamentary resolution accompanied by the resolution of the Commission on Constitutional Responsibility bringing charges against them in further proceedings reached the tribunal. W. Berutowicz discussed the

activities of the tribunal with a view to preparing proper consideration of the case, mentioning that, among other things, the law on amnesty of July 1984 included an article providing for the discontinuation of proceedings before the tribunal in the matter of constitutional responsibility for acts committed before the law on the State Tribunal took effect. In this regard, the ruling body of the tribunal discontinued the proceedings at its meeting on 10 August. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Jul 85 p 2] 9761

OPZZ MEETS BYTOM MINERS--OPZZ chairman Alfred Miodowicz met with the representatives of mining work forces of Bytom Mining District in the House of Culture of SZOMBIERKI mine on 18 July. Issues related to the activities of reborn trade union movement, its organizational structures and issues of cooperation between the trade unions and the government were discussed. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Jul 85 p 2] 9761

RAKOWSKI MEETS TARNOW AKTIVS--Member of the Politbureau of the PZPR Central Committee, first secretary of the Tarnow Provincial PZPR Committee Stanislaw Opalko and deputy prime minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski took part in a meeting with the trade union and self-government aktivs of Tarnow province which was held in Debice. Before meeting the aktivs, St. Opalko and M. Rakowski visited various sites in Debica and its vicinity. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 18 Jul 85 p 2] 9761

ANTI-SPECULATION DISCUSSION--The issue of units of the socialized economy selling consumer goods they produce to their employees or other persons and the operation of "barter" trade among enterprises were discussed at a meeting of the Central Commission for Combatting Speculation. The meeting was chaired by deputy chairman of the commission Brigadier General Marian Ryba. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 18 Jul 85 p 2] 9761

AMBASSADOR RECEIVED IN MOSCOW--Member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR Eduard Shevardnadze received on Friday the ambassador of the PRP in the USSR Stanislaw Kociolek. Issues of bilateral Polish-Soviet relations as well as certain problems in the current international situation were discussed in the course of the conversation which took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20-22 Jul 85 p 8] 9761

FOREIGN AFFAIRS TALKS WITH JAPAN--On 19 and 20 July, consultations were held in Warsaw between the departments of international organizations of the ministries of foreign affairs of Poland and Japan. Director Chusei Yamada from the Japanese side and director Piotr Freyberg from the Polish side conducted consultations. Major issues of cooperation of the two states with the UN specialized organizations and issues concerning preparations for the 40th session of the UN General Assembly were discussed. C. Yamada was received by the deputy minister of foreign affairs Henryk Jaroszek. Ambassador of Japan Susuma Matsubara was also present. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 23 Jul 85 p 2] 9761

OPZZ TALKS AT STEELWORKS--On 20 July, a meeting of representatives of the local 7,000-strong trade union organization was held in BIERUT steelworks in

Czestochowa with OPZZ chairman Alfred Miodowicz in attendance. The achievements of trade unionists at the steelworks to date and their contribution to integrating the trade union movement were discussed. With reference to collective contracts, A. Miodowicz pointed out that once the parliament passes relevant resolutions and [trade union] federations work out arrangements with the ministries, the burden of safeguarding the interests of employees while the contracts are executed will fall on trade unions in enterprises. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 23 Jul 85 p 2] 9761

OPZZ HEAD AT 'GLOGOW' WORKS--On 22 July, the Day of Rebirth, the copper smelter's employees met their production targets as usual. On this day, OPZZ chairman Alfred Miodowicz visited with the employees of 'GLOGOW' works. After a meeting with the trade union aktiv and the management of the enterprise he went to work positions where he talked directly with the workers of metallurgical and electric refining shops. Among other things, issues of occupational safety and hygiene, ratios of productivity and wages and organizational trade union issues were discussed. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 23 Jul 85 p 2] 9761

PRON SEES PROSECUTOR--On 23 July, secretary general of the National Council of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] Jerzy Jaskiernia met with the cadres of the prosecutor's general office. Planks of the electoral platform for the parliamentary elections were discussed with special emphasis on tasks related to upholding the rule of socialist law. J. Jaskiernia also responded to a number of questions primarily on the Election Declaration of the PRON. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Jul 85 p 2] 9761

DEFENSE COMMITTEE IN KALISZ--Activities of the state administration in light of the results obtained by the GIT [Main Territorial Inspectorate] were the topic of the session of the WKO [Provincial Defense Committee] in Kalisz, held on 23 July. The WKO obligated local organs of state administration and the management of state and cooperative units as well as social organizations to get vigorously involved in correcting the drawbacks and irregularities revealed during the GIT review. WKO members were also briefed on the socio-political situation and the state of public order and security in Kalisz province. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24 Jul 85 p 2] 9761

LABOR INSPECTOR, OPZZ MEET--On 24 July, OPZZ chairman Alfred Miodowicz met with the chief labor inspector Henryk Kowalski. In conjunction with draft amendments to the laws on trade unions and the Chief Labor Inspectorate submitted to the parliament, avenues for cooperation were discussed which would enable the trade unions and organs of the state inspectorate to promote improvements in the occupational environment based on the new legal provisions more efficiently. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 25 Jul 85 p 2] 9761

'LAY CULTURE' SUMMER CAMP--In Piotrkow Trybunalski, the summer central training session for the TKKS [Association for the Propagation of Lay Culture] aktiv is underway. Among other things, issues of the study of religions, of the worldview, lay upbringing and relations between the church and state are discussed in the course of seminars. On 24 July, the head of the Ideological

Department of the PZPR Central Committee Wladyslaw Loranc took part in the session. He discussed the main avenues of the party's ideological work and the resulting tasks for social movements in Poland. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU, 25 Jul 85 p 2] 9761

LODZ PAPER MILL BURNS--On 25 July, 24 hours after a fire broke out in the warehouse of the Lodz Paper Mill, attempts to extinguish the fire at the site were still underway. Seven firefighting units aided by MO [Citizens' Militia] personnel were taking part. Due to the selfless action of firefighters, the building of the cardboard shop and a part of the warehouses were saved. About 3,300 rolls of paper each weighing about 2 tons were stored in the structures which burned down. A preliminary estimate puts losses at dozens of million zlotys. The cause of fire has not been determined yet; it is being investigated by a special commission of experts. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Jul 85 p 2] 9761

OLSZOWSKI ARTICLE IN SOVIET WEEKLY--Soviet weekly "ZA RUBIEZHOM" published an article by the member of the Politbureau of the PZPR Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs Stefan Olszowski entitled "A Return to the Policy of Detente is Possible and Necessary." The author recalls the origins of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and discusses the results of this process to date and its future prospects. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Jul 85 p 2] 9761

OLSZOWSKI ARTICLE IN BULGARIAN DAILY--On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Final Act of the Helsinki conference, the daily OTECHESTVEN FRONT, organ of the National Council of the Patriotic Front, carried an article by a member of the Politbureau of the PZPR Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs Stefan Olszowski entitled "Detente is Possible and Necessary." The article recalls the peace initiatives of our country and states that the transformation of Europe into a continent of permanent peace and cooperation has been and will be the main goal of the policy of socialist countries. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Jul 85 p 5] 9761

SIWAK MEETS VOLUNTEER LABORERS--OHP [Polish Scouts' Organization] labor brigade members are working in Bochnia as part of an international group. One hundred and fifty volunteer laborers, out of which 60 from the GDR and 30 from Bulgaria, as well as from Poland (Otwock, Suwalki and Chelm) are staying at the dormitory of construction vocational schools in Bochnia. Member of the Politbureau of the PZPR Central Committee Albin Siwak met with the volunteers. He was acquainted with the housing and work environment of young construction workers. He visited a plant where he talked with members of the permanent workforce and the OHP youth on the job. He responded to many questions in the course of his meetings with young people, among other things, questions concerning issues in construction and the chances of the young people to get their own apartment, as well as the social policy of the state and the matters of the younger generation. Preparations for elections to the parliament and the issues of upbringing of our young generation through labor were also discussed. A. Siwak stressed that considerably more attention should be paid by industrial enterprises to ensuring the availability of work for young citizens. He gave the example of Tarnow province where only 20 percent



of enterprises responded favorably to the OHP offer. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 29 Jul 85 p 2] 9761

NATIONAL MUSEUM ISSUES DISCUSSED--Issues of the National Museum in Warsaw (speeding up the registration and scientific processing of the collection and creating adequate conditions for its preservation, safety and maintenance) were the subject of discussion at the 29th of July meeting of the representatives of the Department of Culture of the PZPR Central Committee and the Ministry of Culture and Art on the one side and the representatives of management, employee aktiv and party and trade union organizations of the museum on the other. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Jul 85 p 2] 9761

KATOWICE PARTY COMMITTEE MEETS--The Provincial Committee of the PZPR in Katowice held a plenary session. The deliberations were held for control-directive purposes and concerned itself with evaluation of results achieved in intra-party work within the framework of the tasks arising from the resolution of the 20th Plenum of the Central Committee as well as from the plenary session of the Provincial Committee held on 10 December of last year. Those problems were discussed within the work-groups, on the basis of the results of control and evaluation of various forms of functioning by party channels and organizations in Chorzow, Jaworzno, Zawiercie. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Jul 85 p 2] 12916

OPPOSITION ACTIVIST SENTENCED--An appeal case in the case of Stanislaw Sakwa, an activist in ex-Solidarity accused of continuing his anti-state activities, has ended before the Provincial Court in Legnica. In November and December of 1984, in the area of Glogow and Lubin, he undertook activities aimed at evoking social disturbances. He transported in his car, illegal brochures and pamphlets of anti-state nature which were intended for hawking. S. Sakwa, interned in the past, did not give-up his activity in the underground structures of ex-Solidarity in spite of the cessation--by the power of the amnesty--of the criminal proceedings against him. The Provincial Court sentenced S. Sakwa to a one year and sixteen months jail term, it also stated in the affirmative for the loss of the accused's car to the state treasury. The sentence is lawful. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Jul 85 p 6] 12916

MICROCOMPUTER USE EXPANSION DISCUSSED--The problems of production and application of microcomputers were the topic of a meeting which took place in Warsaw under the leadership of Vice-Premier Edward Kowalczyk and with participation of the representatives of science, industry, and social-professional organizations. A particular attention was concentrated on the tasks of developing of a microcomputer base and of the computer education, mainly among the youth. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Jul 85 p 2] 12916

ARTISTS UNION TALKS ON RULES, PATRONAGE--The development of statutory activity of the Union of Polish Art Painters and Printers and correct use of the means and instruments of state patronage, as well as issues of cooperation between the Union (ZPAMIG) and the Ministry of Art and Culture, were the topics of the meeting between, among others, Kazimierz Zygulski and newly elected chairman of the Main Administration of the Union, Professor Wladyslaw Jackiewicz. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Jul 85 p 6] 12916

**SOCIETY OF POLISH CATHOLICS CONVENES**--The ninth national congress of the Society of Polish Catholics deliberated in Warsaw. More than 40 persons participated in it including 25 delegates from the entire country. Guests at the congress were Metropolitan Bazyli, superior of the Polish Independent Orthodox Church and vice-chairman of the Polish Ecumenical Council; and Bishop Tadeusz Majewski, superior of the Polish Catholic Church. Director Henryk Leszczyna was present on behalf of the Office for Religious Affairs. At the congress, the activity of the society during the past term (1980-1985) was assessed and new officers were elected. Bishop Dr Wiktor Wyoczanski was once again elected chairman. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 1 Jul 85 p 2] 9853

**BLOC HUDDLE ON UN**--From the 18th to the 20th of this month Warsaw was the scene of consultations involving directors of international organizations of foreign affairs ministries from socialist countries, in connection with the problems of the 40th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Delegations from the following countries participated in the consultations: White Russia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Korean Popular Democratic Republic, Cuba, Laos, Mongolia, German Democratic Republic, Poland, Rumania, Ukraine, Hungary, the Soviet Union, as well as a member from the Secretariat of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance. The consultations proceeded in a business-like and amicable atmosphere. The chairman of the delegations was received by Stefan Olszowski, Minister of Foreign Affairs and member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Jun 85 pp 1, 2] 12650

**AUTHORS' UNION ELECTION RESULTS**--At the 28th plenary session of the Polish Authors' Union (SAP), held on 27 and 28 June, discussions dealt with the overall picture of the union's past activities. The session was attended by representatives of the department of culture of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, and also of the Warsaw Municipal Administration. As a result of the discussions, the session accepted the resignation of the past chairman, Prof Jerzy Prokopczuk, and some of the presidium of the Main Council. A new presidium was elected with Stanislaw Lewicki as chairman, Miroslaw Huszcz, Bogdan Daleszak, Dr Jerzy Kudas-Bronislowski as vice-chairmen, Franciszek Bernas as secretary general, Dr Leonard Pelka as treasurer, and Arkadiusz Ogrodowczyk and Lucjan Meissner as members. The participants of the session approved a new program of the union's activities, and passed a resolution in the matter involving its members in the electoral campaign for the congress of the Polish People's Republic, and also regarding the support of the program of the Wisla-Odra association. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29-30 Jun 85 p 4] 12650

**DISSIDENT ACTIVIST SENTENCED**--The Lublin District Court sentenced Stanislaw Saksa, 34 years of age, a father of two children, a smith employed by the "Rudna" foundries, to one year and 6 months in prison, plus forfeiture of his Zastawa 1100 car in favor of the state treasury, the car having served as the object for the commitment of the crime. From November through December 1984 the defendant had taken up some activities in Lublin and Glogow designed to arouse social unrest and upheavals. While the defendant had taken advantage of the benefit of the amnesty, he never discontinued his activity, using his own car to propagate illegal literature that excoriated the policy of the party and government. The Provincial Court in Lignica confirmed the sentence imposed by the lower court. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29-30 Jun 85 p 4] 12650

BIALYSTOK DEFENSE COMMITTEE--The Provincial Defense Committee in Bialystok evaluated the state of security and public order in the region. [Text]  
[Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Jul 85 p 5] 12916

CATHOLIC WEEKLY PUBLISHED--The Catholic weekly GOSC NIEDZIELNY has appeared again after a break of 3 weeks. Shortages of paper have forced the editors to publish it once every 2 weeks in the near future. The Warsaw Catholic weekly PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI has further reduced to the size of four pages. The monthly POWSCIAGLIWOSC I PRACA has announced that it would have to cut down circulation and publish double issues. [[Text] [Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 31, 4 Aug 85 p 1]

CHURCH THIEVES STAND TRIAL--The District Public Prosecutor's Office in Czestochowa brought before the local court an indictment against Jan Chlost and Wieslaw Starczewski. They are charged with breaking into the church in Klomnice in Czestochowa Province on 20 March of this year and stealing six chalices, a monstrance and other liturgical objects for a total value of 360,000 zlotys. The perpetrators of the break-in were intoxicated. As a result of action instituted by the MO [Citizens' Militia], five of the chalices were found and returned to the parish priest in Klomnice. Because of the social damage of the act committed by J. Chlost and W. Starczewski, the press spokesman for the Provincial Prosecutor's Office in Czestochowa gave permission, in accordance with the "Press Law", to publish the full names of the accused. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9 Jul 85 p 2] 9853

CSO: 2600/954

ROMANIA

NATIONAL DAY CELEBRATED AT HOME, ABROAD

Defense Minister's Order of the Day

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Aug 85 p 4

[Order of the Day signed by Colonel General Constantin Olteanu, minister of National Defense of the SR of Romania on 23 August, Romanian National Day]

[Text] This year, on 23 August, we celebrate the 41st anniversary of the glorious victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation in an atmosphere of strong creative elan in which all our people, closely united around the RCP and its secretary general Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu have recently celebrated--with enthusiasm and great patriotic feelings--the 20th anniversary of the 13th RCP Congress, a crucial historical event, whose bold decisions and programmed orientations inspired profound changes in all fields of socioeconomic activity in our country. Since this event, our people have traveled the richest period of fulfillment in all its history, the span of time we call with justified pride the "Nicolae Ceausescu Era."

This period of great achievement and incomparable revolutionary changes bears the mark of the clear-sighted and scientific thinking and of innovative actions of the brilliant leader of the party and of our nation, the hero among the heroes of the nation, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, brilliant strategist and founder of Socialist Romania, personality of great prestige and international authority, ardent fighter for the triumph of the cause of national independence, progress, and peace throughout the world.

Today, on the 41st anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, Romania is a country with a strong and modern industry and an advanced socialist agriculture, with a flourishing science and culture, and a country that enjoys high appreciation on all the meridians of the earth, thanks to the outstanding activity carried out by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Republic, the great statesman, beloved and respected by the entire Romanian nation, well-known and appreciated everywhere as an untiring promoter of ideals of peace, friendship, and cooperation among nations.

Recalling the historical, revolutionary event that took place 41 years ago, we highly honor the workers class, revolutionaries, patriots, and antifascists and

all those who, during the heat of August 1944, fought bravely and with a spirit of self-sacrifice for the cause of freedom and independence of the homeland. With deep gratitude we honor the heroic example set by the Romanian officers and soldiers who shed their blood for the country's liberation from fascist oppression and won everlasting glory in the struggle for defeating the Nazi army. At the same time, we pay ardent homage to the heroic Soviet soldiers who bore the brunt of the war against fascism and to the people of the anti-Hitlerite coalition and all antifascist fighters everywhere who made a contribution to defeating the common enemy.

Comrade soldiers, warrant officers, enlisted men, noncommissioned officers, officers, and generals.

Honoring the great national day of 23 August with outstanding successes in battle and political training in all the fields of military life and activity, you prove your high political, patriotic, and revolutionary awareness and your responsibility and self-denial with which you honor the noble mission of defending your forefathers' land and the cause of socialism and communism on the Romanian soil.

Cherishing in your hearts the brilliant example of your forefathers and being proud of the socialist present and communist future of the homeland, devote all your forces to the unflinching implementation of the tasks bestowed upon you by the historic decisions of the 13th RCP Congress, by the work of the RCP secretary general, and by the speech delivered by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to the plenary meeting of the Central Committee and the party central active held on 24 July 1985, thus implementing the provisions of the directives of the supreme commander of our armed forces!

Devote yourselves and all your energy, skill, and working energy to the continuous improvement of the instructional and educational process in accordance with the requirements of the current Romanian military doctrine, whose brilliant founder is Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and devote yourselves to the achievement of new, superior qualities in all fields and areas of military activity, to perfecting the military skill, to commendably fulfilling the tasks of national economy, and to accurately carrying out all missions bestowed upon you!

Mobilized intensively by the party and Union of Communist Youth organizations and bodies you should act in a revolutionary spirit to perfect the combat spirit of the large units and of the other units, so that in accordance with our supreme commander's recommendations--the army should be ready any time together with all the elements of national defense and with the entire nation to firmly defend the socialist achievements and the homeland's independence, sovereignty, and integrity!

On the occasion of this great holiday, I extend to you warm greetings and I wish you new and important successes in fulfilling all the missions bestowed upon you by the homeland, party, people, and by our supreme commander, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu!

Long live the 41st anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation in Romania!

Long live the RCP, led by its secretary general Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu!

Long live our free and independent homeland, the SR of Romania!

In honor of this anniversary

I order:

Twenty one salvos be fired on 23 August in Bucharest in token of this anniversary!

Minister of National Defense

Colonel General Constantin Olteanu

#### Celebrations Abroad

AU251830 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1701 GMT 25 Aug 85

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 25/8/1985--Events devoted to August 23, Romania's National Day, continued to be arranged on all meridians.

The all-union State Library of Foreign Literature in Moscow venues "The Decade of Books From the Socialist Republic of Romania."

The opening ceremony was attended by representatives of USSR's State Committee for Publishing, Printing and Bookselling, of the Writers' Union and of other Soviet central cultural institutes, of the Soviet-Romanian Friendship Association, men of letters, translators from Romania, a numerous public, as well as the delegation of the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Association and members of Romania's embassy in Moscow.

"The Days of Romanian Film" opened at the "Forum" cinema house in Moscow.

In the attendance were representatives of the State Committee for Cinematography of the USSR, men of art and letters, a numerous public. Also present were a Romanian delegation of cinema workers and members of this country's embassy to the Soviet Union.

A festive meeting was held at the "Pharmachim" central department in Sofia.

Todor Stoichev, deputy chairman of the Bulgarian-Romanian Friendship Association, and Romania's Ambassador to Bulgaria, Liviu Minda, spoke about the historic significance of the antifascist and antiimperialist revolution of social and national liberation of August 23, 1944.

The steadily ascending course was highlighted of the Romanian-Bulgarian links of friendship and collaboration.

Berlin venues the opening of the exhibition "Contemporary Romanian Graphic Art." During both the news conference held prior to the opening ceremony and the festive opening ceremony the importance was underscored of the act accomplished

on August 23, 1944. The constant development of ties between Romania and the German Democratic Republic was emphasized. The respective event was attended by representatives of the Foreign Relations Department of the CC of the SUPG [SED], of the foreign affairs and culture ministries, of other central institutions in the capital of the GDR, members of the diplomatic corps, journalists, a numerous public.

A festive meeting took place at the palace of culture in the capital city of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

In the attendance were Hyon Son-Kwon, secretary of the Municipal Party Committee, Kim Hyong-ryul [name as received], deputy foreign minister, O Mun-Han, deputy chairman of the Korean-Romanian Friendship Association, other party and state cadres.

In their addresses on the occasion, the participants highlighted the Romanian people's achievements in the years that followed its liberation and placed emphasis on the upward course of the Romanian-Korean ties of friendship and collaboration.

During a news conference in Ulaanbaatar the Romanian people's achievements in the years of socialist construction were brought to the fore.

At the same time, a gala of Romanian films was organized and a Romanian cultural evening was held at the furniture manufacturing combine in the Mongolian capital.

A festive meeting took place in Tokyo. In the attendance were representatives of the Japanese Diet, of the Foreign Affairs Ministry, of important trading companies cooperating with Romania, a numerous public.

In his address, Setsu Shiga [name as received], member of the House of Representatives for the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party, secretary-general of Japan-Romania Parliamentary Friendship league enlarged upon Romanian realities and highlighted the Romanian people's rich traditions and its love for freedom and spirit of independence, as well as its great achievements in the country's continuous development. The speaker highlighted President Nicolae Ceausescu's special contribution to the promotion of international understanding, disarmament and peace, the high respect Romania's activity enjoys in the world arena. He also referred to the broad possibilities of cooperation between Romania and Japan on the political, economic, technical-scientific, cultural and sports planes.

The cultural centre at the Virona mayor's office venued the pictorial exhibition "Contemporary Romania," and the Nikea mayor's office in Pyraeus played host to the pictorial exhibition "The Balkan Peoples' Participation in the Victory Over Fascism."

One of the highlights of the exhibition the Romanian stand which is suggestive of the Romanian Army's contribution to the complete liberation of the country's territory, and then of Hungary and Czechoslovakia, until the final victory over fascism.

A news conference took place in Maputo when the Romanian people's historic successes were underscored and Socialist Romania's foreign policy of peace and collaboration was outlined.

### Beijing Festivities

AU270819 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Aug 85 p 6

[Text] Beijing, 22 August (AGERPRES)--The Chinese-Romanian Friendship Association and the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries organized a festive event in Beijing with the participation of Ji Pengfei, state councillor; Wang Fulin, deputy chairman of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries; Qian Qichen, deputy minister of foreign affairs; Chen Jie, representative of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade; Chen Xingren, adviser at the Ministry of Culture; He Quishen, deputy chief of staff of the People's Liberation Army; and representatives of the International Liaison Department of the CPC Central Committee, of the press, radio, and television, and journalists.

Li Giang, chairman of the Chinese-Romanian Friendship Association, and the charge d'affaires of the Romanian embassy in Beijing made speeches in which they pointed out the profound significance of the historic act of 23 August 1944 in Romania as well as its impact on speeding up the victory over Hitlerite Germany. They also highlighted the Romanian People's Revolutionary achievements in building the new society and the good relations of cooperation that are continuously developing between Romania and China, on the basis of understandings reached during high-level meetings in Bucharest and Beijing.

The event concluded with an artistic show which included Romanian and Chinese folk songs.

The same day, a Romanian film gala was organized by the PRC Ministry of Culture at the Beijing Nationalities Palace of Culture.

CSO: 2020/222



ROMANIA

PROGNOSIS ON EFFECT OF HIGH BIRTHRATE ON ECONOMY

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian May-Jun 85 pp 266-271

/Article by Eugen Pecican: "Generations of the Higher Birthrate Years and Their Contributions to Socio-Economic Development"

/Text/ In 1967, the birthrate in Romania rose sharply as the result of a number of measures being implemented; the new regulation on abortions playing a major role. The positive effect of these measures on real population growth was felt immediately; in 1967 there was a net population increase of 348,635, more than three times that of 1966.

The appearance of this wave of newborns, unprecedented in numbers, as well as its movement over time up the age ladder has a direct impact, under normal conditions, on a number of areas of social life. Furthermore, given the improvements wrought by our society in public health, education, etc., the appearance of a number of newborns approximately twice the annual average for the period 1964-1966, clearly entailed the efforts made by our society to ensure the appropriate living conditions for their harmonious development. Specifically we should mention a series of tasks which fell to various sectors of socio-economic activity: augmenting health care to assist at deliveries, combatting the factors leading to infant mortality, resolving problems in sectors of the economy with a preponderance of female workers, where there was an increase in pre- and post-natal maternity leave and in the educational sector, ensuring the proper conditions for growth and instruction in nursery schools, kindergartens and schools.

Currently the leading edge of that wave of newborns following the above-mentioned decree has reached 17 years of age and its members are in school (some have gone on to the second stage of high school and others to professional training). The maturing of this generation and of those which follow is "anticipated" by other sectors of economic and social life: schooling in the second stage of high school and in the professional schools, meeting the military obligations of those born immediately after 1967, taking places in sectors of the national economy, continuing studies at institutions of higher learning, forming new families etc. Below we will emphasize certain aspects of these phenomena to obtain evaluations as precise as possible of the implications of this wave of young people belonging to the operations of 1967 and neighboring years. We intend to project these implications through 1995.

The methodologies we intend to employ are demographic and econometric in nature. Their usage is directly intended to create a model of the population that will encompass these groups as well as to develop evaluations regarding the changes in certain economic variables in the future as a result, primarily, of the growth in the numbers of young people.

The component parts method /4/ /5/ was used to develop the population model. To obtain numerical evaluations of the effect changes in the age patterns of a population has on certain economic variables we used on economic model employing simultaneous equations /3/.

The data used are those published in: "The Demographic Annual-1974," "The Results of the 1977 Census"-volume II and "The Statistical Annual of the Socialist Republic of Romania" 1966-1983.

#### Certain Considerations and Hypotheses Used in Developing the Forecasts

In formulating the hypotheses, we adhered to the concept that there are minor changes in demographic phenomena compared with a much more mobile and difficult to predict evolution of the economic processes. Also we considered that, by and large, the trends noted in the last decade will continue into the future. As a function of the data available as well as the trends we see in the evolution of certain variables, we selected from among the possible hypotheses those which appear to have the best chances of becoming reality. In the projections we have also retained the current emphasis on increasing the birthrate. Hence the following were used as sources: mortality tables of the population of Romania 1970-72--the latest published /6/--specific fertility rates by age group for the year 1973 /6/, marriage tables for the period 1971-75 and specific rates of activity based on the data of the last census (1977).

#### The Results Obtained and Their Significance

The data available and the possibilities offered by the methods employed have led to findings which we believe will be particularly useful to decision makers. These findings do not cover all of the implications for the future as there are aspects for which we do not have statistical data or which cannot be quantified and thus cannot be included in the calculus.

The forecasts obtained must be viewed in light of the hypotheses on which they were based. They are dependent upon the past since it represents the levels which will be obtained if in the future there will not be any significant changes other than those included in the calculations based on the period when the data was collected.

The population structure was a primary question we analyzed. We limited our calculations to those segments which presented the most significant changes, in other words the population between the ages of 10 and 25. A careful reading of the results given in Table 1 shows the changes in the structure over time.

Table 1

<u>Year</u>	<u>Age Group</u>				<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Total Absolute Level</u>
	<u>10-14</u>	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>		
1980	28.81	20.52	25.51	25.46	100	6,966,150
1985	26.90	28.30	20.10	24.70	100	7,072,796
1990	27.10	26.05	27.40	19.45	100	7,267,689
1995	23.85	25.66	24.62	25.87	100	7,649,407

The results demonstrate a continual progression of the most numerous age group over time. The figures given in the last column of Table 1 indicate a numerical increase in the population of young people. As births are the sole source of population increase in our country, it follows that the percentage of the population that is between 10 and 29 years of age is on the rise. A series of consequences ensue which stimulate the activities of certain institutions or even sectors of social life.

We now turn to the implications of this data, examining it from the perspective of the challenges raised in particular by the 1967 generation and analyze them in succession. We will begin with the phenomenon which appeared in the recent past: their admittance to the second stage of high school and professional level schools, respectively. In 1984, the youth born in 1967-1968 were for the most part on the threshold of this step. Numerically they were 202.7 percent of the number at this point in 1980. In future years, the percentage will slowly drop. Thus compared with 1980, the proportion of 16 year olds will be 164.8 percent in 1985, 151.68 percent in 1986 and 138.27 percent in 1987. Thus the school system will continue to be called upon to provide both the teachers as well as certain material needs: classrooms, teaching materials, school workshops, etc.

The next episode will be experienced by the males in the population who, beginning especially in 1986, will place much heavier demands on the recruiters to satisfy their military obligations. Compared to 1980, the proportion of 18 year old males will be 189 percent in 1986 after which it will drop somewhat; 153.6 percent in 1987, 142 percent in 1988, 127 percent in 1989 and 127 percent in 1990, compared with the same year, 1980.

At the same time, the youth born around the year 1967 will gradually enter the married ranks and will contribute to maintaining the natural increase in the country's population.

We note that the contribution of the generations born after 1966 to the increase in marriages, births and the active population is dampened somewhat by the fact that in the period prior to 1967 the numbers of newborns were small. This is why the evolution of the indicators referring to a number of demographic phenomena shows small changes which, when charted on a graph, trace a slightly convex line in relation to time (Figure 1).

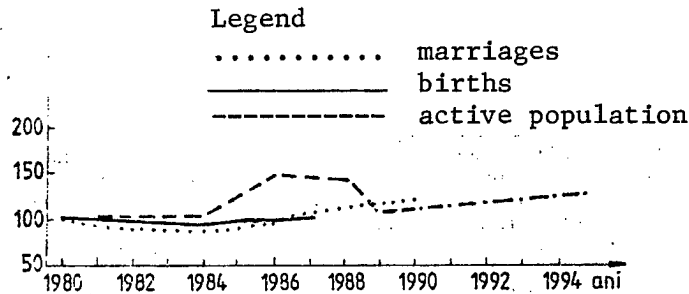


Figure 1

Hence the change in the number of the married youth 15-25 years of age shows a slight decline compared with youth born prior to 1967. In upcoming years, however, those numbers will most likely increase slightly as the youth born between 1967 and 1970 mature (Figure 1). The level reached in 1980 will be surpassed by approximately 3 percent in 1987 and by 18.7 percent in 1990.

Table 2

Year:	<u>1980</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1990</u>
Number of married women 15-25 years of age:	150,532	133,051	136,705	178,738

The level of fertility will also be influenced since beginning actually in 1983 the first "wave" of females, namely those born in 1967 and 1968, entered the ranks of women in the fertile age range. Of course at first, the preponderance of those groups low in numbers made up of women born especially in the years 1958-1966 will have its impact in slowing the birthrate. The years 1984-1987 will be most influenced in this way. Gradually, as the wave of those born after 1966 becomes older, its impact on the growth of the nation's birthrate will become felt. This influence will become most pronounced at the beginning of the 1990's when females born during this period will attain the age of maximum fertility (Figure 1).

The contribution of those born in the second half of the 1960's will, in the future, also be felt in the production of goods and services.

Beginning in 1984, numerous members of the 1967 generation as well as those of generations that followed, will gradually be introduced into the workforce. The impact of these youth on the growth of material and non-material production, and on the rise of the national income will become tangible particularly after 1986 when a large number of them will begin working in the various branches of the national economy. The data given in Table 3 present an illustration of the scope of the changes in the population of those between 13 and 25 years of age (columns 2,3,4).

The calculations are confined to this segment of the population because it is the one expected to furnish the majority of the new job seekers. In parallel, we also present data to allow a perception of the changes in the numbers of those exiting the workforce from the population of men between the ages 55 and 65 and women between the ages 50 and 60. Clearly these take into account the age ranges whereupon the great majority of the workforce retires.

As far as entries into the workforce are concerned, the data in Table 3 show relative stagnation until 1984. After that year there is a significant increase, reaching a maximum in 1986 when the generation of 1967 and part of 1968 reach 18 years of age and, in large numbers, enroll in the workforce. The level of entries from the ranks of the male population will in that

Table 3\*  
(in thousands of inhabitants)

Year	Workforce entries from the 15-25 year old age group			Exits (total at retirement age)	Absolute growth	Replacement percentage
	Males	Females	Total			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1981	133.4	116.6	250	125	125	2
1982	147.5	112.5	260	133.11	126.89	1.95
1983	149	120.3	269.3	126.14	143.16	2.13
1984	144	126.1	270.1	138.07	132.03	1.95
1985	174.7	147.9	322.6	145.4	177.2	2.22
1986	212	160	372	149.4	222.6	2.49
1987	198.2	170	368.2	151.3	216.9	2.43
1988	198	162	360	158.4	201.6	2.27
1989	182	154	336	158.5	177.5	2.12
1990	181.7	151	332.7	165	167.7	2.01
1991	183	152.5	335.5	159.1	176.4	2.10
1992	189.7	155	344.7	162.9	181.8	2.11
1993	193	157.6	350.6	166.5	184.1	2.1
1994	193.3	159.4	352.7	160.16	192.54	2.2
1955	193.2	158.3	351.5	162.9	188.6	2.15

\* The results in this table represent evaluations made while maintaining the same survival probabilities for the future, respectively of the work activity indicators both for the young population and for those at advanced ages. These do not include departures from the workforce of those under the legal retirement age--not an insignificant number.

year be 1.58 times that of 1981 and that among the female population 1.37 times that of 1981. The replacement ratio (Table 3, column 7) which is obtained by considering the exiting which probably will be registered from the ranks of the active population, is relatively constant except for the increases in 1986 and 1987, the period during which the influx of youth into the economic branches reaches a maximum. This number will be approximately 370,000 people and come at a time when a more pronounced increase in exiting will still be a few years away, namely the period 1988-1990.

The results obtained to this point primarily represent the direct and at the same time apparent consequences of changes in the population structure as the result of the birthrate increase. Below we will refer to certain implications of an economic nature, especially those more nuanced, as they are the result of a complex set of causes which work at various intensities over time. The large number of factors and the high level of interdependence between variables are the reasons why we turned to an econometric model with simultaneous equations /3/.

The variables we shall attempt to analyze through the use of this model are: the national income (N), real income (V), sales of foodstuffs including public provisioning (A), the total area of newly constructed dwellings (L), sales of non-foodstuff products (B), the value of services (S) and the urban population (U). These will represent the internal variables of the model.

In defining each equation, we considered factors which, in general, are recognized as being the principal causes for the variables mentioned. Among these causes, the demographic variables to which we referred have an important role.

To obtain solutions for the model's parameters, that is to say, to establish the equations (3-9), we formulated superidentified equations.

Estimates of the regressive parameters were obtained through the least squares method using data for the period 1965-1980. The values of the parameters are given in the presented model as follows:

(3)	$N = 0,49 \cdot 10^{10} \cdot W^{0,776} \cdot e^{0,55 E - 16T}$	$+u_1$	D = 99,9 %
(4)	$V = -491,83 + 290 N$	$+u_2$	D = 99,63 %
(5)	$A = 0,035 P^{1,22} \cdot V^{1,13}$	$+u_3$	D = 97,8 %
(6)	$L = 90,48 + 0,016T - 0,44P + 0,39 MT$	$+u_4$	D = 70,05 %
(7)	$B = 0,046 P^{1,09} \cdot V^{1,06}$	$+u_5$	D = 99,1 %
(8)	$S = 0,41 \cdot N^{0,37} \cdot G^{1,06} \cdot U^{-0,5}$	$+u_6$	D = 99,1 %
(9)	$U = 64,5 + 0,003 T + 1,66 P + 0,07 I$	$+u_7$	D = 97,9 %

The variables not mentioned previously, positioned to the right of the equal sign represent: I + investments, W = workforce, P = total population, O = socio-cultural investment, MT = number of marriages in the previous year, T = time, e = 2.71, u = perturbation.

The factors selected explain to a large measure the evolution of the internal variables. This is confirmed by the coefficient of determination (D) written to the right of every equation.

The demographic variables have a significant role, directly or indirectly influencing every internal economic variable.

The model offers the possibility to define the future level of the effect-variable when the evolution of the causal-variable is known, that is, when it is projected for the **forecast** period under consideration.

In order to separate the influence of demographic factors from the influences exercised by the internal variables--investments in the productive sectors, socio-cultural investments, time--we decided to maintain the level of these at that achieved in 1980 while the demographic variables were given the values that resulted from the demographic projections<sup>1</sup>. Replacing the reduced forms in the equations<sup>2</sup> with the values forecast for the demographic variables and maintaining the other variables constant we obtained the conditional projections. We should point out the relative significance of these values resulting from the model (3-9), in the sense that they only have the role of augmenting the effect of the demographic variables when all economic factors (the influence of which are decisive) are computed at levels unchanged from those of 1980. Moreover, the levels obtained indicate both respect for the hypotheses concerning the intensity of the demographic phenomena as well as maintenance of the essential conditions which existed in the economy for the years 1965-1980 for which the estimates of the regressive parameters were obtained.

Commentary on the results is closely linked to the mode of simultaneous equations (3-9). Indicators given below represent percentage increases compared with the level in 1980.

For a start, we will look at the national income which, as shown in equation (3), is only partially dependent on the demographic variable. The role exercised by the growth of the workforce will take on more significance particularly at the end of the decade. Thus, if for 1986, due to changes in the workforce, the growth in national income is 5.4 percent, in 1990 the increase will be 13.8 percent. The influence of investments and of technical progress on the evaluation of the national income is the determining force and the regressive parameters estimated for production (3) are conclusive in this regard. Hence, according to the directives which will guide Romanian economic life in the upcoming years, the major role in the approximate eight percent annual growth in national income for the 5-year plan 1986-1990 will be played by qualitative factors which refer to improving technology, organizing production and labor productivity /1/.

Real incomes expressed in the second equation of the model (4) will continue to be under the influence of the growth of the national income /1/. Variables of a demographic nature will have only a small impact on their evolution. These variables will only act indirectly, particularly through the changes which will occur in the workforce. This, in its turn, will influence the national income as we have demonstrated.

The population growth will have a direct, albeit partial, effect on the evolution of the sales of consumer goods and on the performance of services--an aspect pointed out in the growth of the repressive parameters obtained for the equations (5,7). If the connection between the population figures and the sale of goods (foodstuffs and other goods) noted for the period 1965-1980 continues in the future, then the numerical value of the sales of consumer goods as well as the value of services rendered will rise approximately 10 percent in 1986. For 1990, growth compared with 1980 will be 21.7 percent for foodstuff sales, 13.6 percent for non-foodstuffs and 9.7 percent for services. Of course, for the evolution of the population's consumption of goods and services, other factors must be considered including those of an economic nature which will have an important impact.

The increase in the overall area of new dwelling space will be influenced by demographic factors especially by the end of the current decade. Thus, for 1986 there will be a growth of .03 percent but for 1990 there will be a 4 percent increase compared with 1980. The reasoning for this relatively small role is based on predictable changes in marriage patterns in the upcoming 3 or 4 years.

The urban population whose dependence is explained by equations (9) clearly falls under the influence of factors of a demographic nature and grows as a result of the changes in them--by 2.7 percent in 1986 and 4.37 percent in 1990.

At the risk of repeating ourselves, we shall mention that the results presented do not constitute forecasts as such but rather quantifications concerning the impact that structural modifications and the population totals of the country will have on certain economic variables under the hypothesis that the complex relationships between economic and demographic variables that existed in the past (1965-1980) will continue more or less unchanged.

To complete the analysis of the implications for society of the growth in the birthrate that came about 17 or 18 years ago, it is fitting that along with the quantifiable aspects, we at least mention some of the positive effects exercised on: the consolidation of families, the psychological climate, the development of sports and, in the not-too-distant future, the development of creative activities in culture and science.



One can then affirm that the extra efforts, the investigations so to speak, made by our society to increase the number of youth who form the generations of the last years of the 1960's have begun by degree to bear fruit. They begin to be tangible in the near future (1986-1987) so that gradually, beginning in the years 1989-1990, the influence of these generations will become fully felt in the numerous sectors of our society.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The calculations had to be extended to the other age groups to obtain the total population as well as the employed workforce for the years 1985, 1986 and 1990.
2. The reduced form of the model presupposes the expression of every internal variable in comparison with the exclusively internal variables. Equation (3) assumes a reduced form; equation (4) has to be transformed from a structural form to a reduced form, replacing the variable "N" with its expression, that is with equation (3).

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12280

CSO: 2700/190

ROMANIA

ROLE OF HEALTH WORKERS IN REDUCING NUMBER OF ABORTIONS

Bucharest VIATA MEDICALA in Romanian No 5, May 85 pp 97-100

[Article by Mariana Bostan, Doina Manoasi, General Hospital No 2, Iasi:  
"The Role of Medium-Level Medical Workers in Increasing the Birth Rate and  
Reducing the Number of Abortions"]

[Text] One of the major concerns of the policy of the Romanian party and state is represented by public health and demographic evolution. The birth rate holds an important place in this context. Consequently, all health care personnel must take part, with full professional competence, responsibility marked by a high sense of ethics and duty, enthusiasm, and patriotic devotion, in the general effort to ensure continuing increase in the population of Romania and achievement of a suitable age group structure.

At General Hospital No 2 in Iasi, which serves all the enterprises in the city of Iasi proper, the medium-level personnel of the clinic and those at the enterprise medical offices, along with physicians, perform examinations of all women, especially those 20 to 30 years of age, who represent the most fertile group and the one in which on the average 75 percent of the total number of new births occur. The purpose of these medical examinations is to detect as early as possible all disorders which can have an unfavorable effect on pregnancy and on the fertility of the women.

In all economic units, all the measures necessary to eliminate the risk factors on the job are taken in all economic units, in cooperation with the party organs and the unit administrative authorities and with trade union, women's, and youth organizations, both to protect the health of the women and to avoid any adverse influences on pregnancy.

The progress of pregnancy is monitored by health care personnel, as part of an organized preventive care effort in the form of prenatal consultation. Records on pregnant women employed in production are kept at the work station level and at the medical district level. The aim of the prenatal consultation is to reduce the obstetrical risk, so that pregnancy will represent a "harmonious and homogeneous symbiosis," which can be achieved when pregnancy proceeds normally in a healthy organism. A woman who is closely watched from the medical viewpoint will be returned to society healthy,

fit for work and for repeated procreation, and the child will be born on term, eutrophically, with normal prospects for mental and physical development.

The purpose of the medical examination of the woman on the job is to determine the progress of pregnancy and report to the physician its psychosocial conditions, stressing the medical and biological aspects which can have an unfavorable effect, such as heavy work, night shift work, overtime, unhealthy working conditions, etc.

This points to the obligation of medium-level personnel of detecting in daily practice cases in which the prospective mother exhibits a pathological condition. All examinations and findings must be entered in the individual health record of the pregnant woman and in the prenatal care records.

A decision is made on the basis of the medical examinations if a given woman has a normal pregnancy or a "problem pregnancy" involving high obstetrical risk. Problem pregnancies are monitored in the context of selective outpatient care, by a midwife, general practitioner, and medical specialist, and women with such pregnancies are examined periodically by a doctor when they have a general disorder associated with the pregnancy. During medical consultation hours, pregnant women, and especially ones with high-risk pregnancies, always have priority over other consultations.

To ensure safety of birth for women at high obstetrical risk, the medium-level personnel of the enterprise medical offices submit a list in writing every month to all three maternity hospitals in Iasi including the data indicated and the names of all these cases.

To remedy the ignorance resulting from a low level of medical education, the woman has impressed on her the importance of the prenatal examinations, to enlist her cooperation in preserving the state of her health.

Once they have gained the confidence of the pregnant woman on the strength of their medical prestige, the medium-level personnel help her to cope with the problems facing her in life, her family, and at work, acting persistently to make certain that she is afforded all the medical and social care provided by law.

The tendency of some pregnant women to reject the prenatal leave and add it to the maternity leave, the lack of understanding on the part of some enterprises, and commuting contribute toward increase in perinatal risk.

A certain number of abortions and premature births are recorded in our area. Special attention is bestowed on women who have previously had more than two abortions. They are placed under special supervision and treated to eliminate the percentage of spontaneous abortions.

The frequency of premature births largely reflects the extent of socioeconomic development, the level of medical education of the women, and the way in which pregnancies are monitored by medium-level personnel.

Premature births are prevented by:

Prenatal consultations, controlled and differentiated, to determine the causes of pathological obstetrical conditions and eliminate these conditions as promptly as possible;

Quality medical education of all pregnant women in labor and pregnancy hygiene, in such matters as avoiding emotional stress, agitation, cold, dampness, excessive physical effort, and all injuries;

Removal of pregnant women from toxic environments and night shift work;

Protracted physical rest, by making certain that prenatal leave is taken;

Suitable nutrition, with foods rich in proteins and vitamins, along with lowering the salt intake throughout pregnancy.

Particular emphasis is placed on understanding by the entire population of the special danger of induced abortion to the health and life of a woman; in a great number of cases it leads to grave complications and often to death of the woman inducing abortion. Aside from the fact that induced abortion, and especially the toxicoseptic forms, are very often encountered in young women, they affect the demographic picture and raise economic problems, since very large amounts of money are invested for especially grave cases.

Abortion is prevented by early detection of pregnancy, proper outpatient care of pregnant women, sanitation of various disease foci (tuberculosis, lues, inflammations), correction of working, living, and environmental conditions, and immediate measures in the face of imminent threat of abortion.

As regards female ailments, the medium-level personnel make an important professional contribution at the specialized medical office of the clinic and the enterprise on the occasion of the medical examinations administered at the time of hiring, through the medical education work done with the women hired, with the environmental factors and the conditions in which the women routinely work taken into account.

Correlation of environmental factors and gynecological morbidity is mandatory. It is the duty of the medium-level personnel at the enterprise dispensary, under the guidance of the physician, to monitor the state of health of the women employed in the production process and to call attention promptly to morbid conditions or illnesses.

To come to the aid of families who wish to have children but cannot realize this aspiration for medical reasons, our medical center refers women to the sterility and infertility treatment offices. In Iasi there is an office in operation for this purpose at General Hospital No 1. It operates in accordance with a specific methodology and in close cooperation with the clinical gynecological services. This activity requires the simultaneous provision of outpatient and hospital care facilities.

Medical education work is part of the daily work schedule of all medium-level personnel, both in the medical office and at women's work stations. It is accomplished in the form of daily talks with the women who come to the medical office for consultation, organized talks, lectures, radio broadcasts, medical education films, etc.

Constant improvement in professional knowledge is a requirement of the highest priority, since medium-level personnel represent those closest to the physician who administer quality assistance. Along with technical knowledge and professional training, the quality and value of medium-level personnel are determined by the attitude of these personnel toward the patient. They must always be good-natured, attentive, and full of understanding and concern. The role of the medium-level personnel in the obstetrics and gynecology network, in view of its great complexity, is not an easy one when performed as conscientiously as required. But the tasks of the medium-level personnel represent nothing more than application in every-day work of the principles of socialist ethics and medical deontology at the level of the requirements of the technical and scientific revolution and the age in which we live.

By carrying out their daily activities with technical skill and a sense of responsibility, medium-level health care personnel can make a contribution to achievement of normal demographic growth and a suitable age distribution of the population, to keeping the Romanian people young and vigorous, these being essential conditions for elevating Romanian society to new heights of progress and civilization.

6115

CSO: 2700/187

ROMANIA

HEALTH CARE EDUCATION OF CHEMICAL INDUSTRY WORKERS REVIEWED

Bucharest VIATA MEDICALA in Romanian No 5, May 85 pp 115-120

[Article by T. Budura, L. Dragomir, E. Pirvu, and M. Matei: "Aspects of the Medical Education of Chemical Industry Workers"]

[Text] As is known, the intensive process of industrialization and urbanization in recent decades has brought about profound changes in the pace of human life, generating many complex problems of social and professional integration, that is, adaptation to new and varied working conditions, with a direct effect on the state of health.

The chemical industry, a sector of great importance in the national economy, has also grown vigorously over the last 4 decades, being called upon to provide a wide range of products needed by the various areas of the economy.

The introduction of modern technologies involving a high degree of mechanization and automation has, on the one hand, reduced the risk of accidents and the number of occupational diseases, but on the other has given rise to new factors affecting health. Consequently, along with the organized technical measures intended to eliminate or moderate the harmful effects of occupational hazards, the contribution made by the worker in pursuing suitable conduct and applying industrial hygiene standards is particularly necessary in the array of measures for prevention and control of occupational diseases.

Training and participation of worker personnel in promoting their own health are inconceivable without good knowledge and application of the standards of hygiene in general and of labor hygiene in particular. The data given in the specialized literature stress the fact that a high level of medical education can bring about reduction or even elimination of hazards from the working environment, and accordingly prevention of occupational diseases.

Study of the level of medical education of workers at the Braila Artificial Fiber Complex has yielded a number of data of great practical interest both to medical personnel and to the organizers of production processes immediately concerned in keeping health and ability to work at the highest possible level.

The study of the medical education of chemical industry workers is a component of the project "Experimental Research on the Level of Medical Education of Workers in Certain Sectors of Industry" conducted by the Medical Education and History of Medicine Laboratory of the Institute of Public Hygiene and Health in Bucharest.

Conducted under a three-stage system (pretest-campaign-posttest), the research had the ultimate aim of determining the level of medical education and application on its basis of medical education methods and integrated educational systems to promote measures for prevention and control of occupational hazards.

The research pursued the objective of studying the classic informative and formative components of medical education by monitoring the extent of information (level of knowledge) and of compliance with or application of the norms of hygiene (general and labor hygiene) and health-promoting and prophylactic precepts (behavior).

The results were subjected to comparative pretest and post-test analysis. This permitted evaluation of the efficiency of the experimentally applied integrated educational system through recording of the differences in terms of percentage, which illustrate the changes in the level of medical education as assessed with the post-test experimental group compared to the total pretest sample and the post-test control group.

Comparative analysis of the data obtained reveal a number of aspects of general and specific medical education.

#### I. General Medical Education

One of the first elements dealt with was the concept of "rational organization of daily life," which was familiar to a larger number of subjects after the test than before it. Thus, a "regular schedule" as an essential element of the concept was given by 36.8 percent of the subjects in the experimental group after the test, as against 4 percent before the test.

A very wide range of values was recorded in connection with the concepts relating to the need for carrying out daily activities at fixed times. The highest value was that recorded for "sleep at fixed times," 84 percent, as against the 67.4 percent noted before the test.

"Avoidance of smoking" as a requirement of rational organization of life was given by 78.5 percent of the subjects in the experimental group, in comparison to only 34.7 percent of those in the control group.

In the case of the principle of "avoidance of alcohol abuse," the correct answers doubled after the test to 78.5 percent from 31.9 percent before the test and 32.5 percent in the control group.

The data reflecting the behavioral elements, which were obtained by actual interview, reveal an especially interesting aspect. Before the test, the percentage of persons stating that they constantly apply the different

components of the process significantly exceeded that of the subjects who apply them intermittently; the situation was reversed after the test.

This reversal apparently represents a regression, a decrease in the number of subjects who paradoxically apply the components of the concept permanently to a lesser extent after being subjected to the influence. However, only seemingly does the phenomenon signify a regression, since we are in effect witness to an increase in the term of reference, that is, in the number of subjects who state the elements of the concept and who, in keeping with the generally slower pace of adoption of the corresponding behavior, have not as yet come to display the behavioral performance aimed at in the period of time limited to the period of educational influence exerted under experimental conditions. The process is nevertheless underway, in movement. In the light of this interpretation, the relationship between the proportions is seen to illustrate progress.

The phenomenon is also confirmed by the dynamics of the control group, in which insignificant changes, in the direction of either increase or decrease, are recorded in the term of reference. The number of subjects who state that they constantly apply the components of the concept appears to be comparatively greater, a phenomenon to be explained by the same reasoning.

The "rational nutrition" concept. The full import of this concept, "what, when, how much, and how do we eat?," is familiar to 29.2 percent of the subjects who did not undergo the educational influence, as against the figure of 6 percent obtained before the test. A significant increase is also recorded in the proportion of persons who state that their nutritional regime is rational.

In-depth analysis of the results as regards the nutrients needed by the organism and the source foods which should be included in the daily diet points to the following conclusions.

The source foods were given after the test, as before it, by a fairly large number of subjects, while knowledge was more limited regarding low amounts of animal fats (28.5 percent) and small quantities of sugar and sweets (36.1 percent).

What is the significance of these proportions? The marked increases illustrate a degree of information corresponding to a large number of subjects as regards the need for animal proteins and the usefulness of vitamins deriving from fresh fruits and vegetables. These facts confirm the effectiveness of the educational influence. The slower increases mark the persistence of some gaps, in connection particularly with the harmful effects of excess lipids, glucides, and synthetic sweets.

In connection with the element "how we eat" we note the figure of 95.5 percent who stated after the test that they serve meals hygienically, as against the 59.7 percent obtained before the test. Another aspect which proves the general tendency of the level of medical education to rise under the influence of controlled medical education, is that associated with the



consequence of irrational nutrition. Thus, 81.9 percent of the subjects exposed to the educational influence cited the occurrence of digestive disturbances directly related to irrational nutrition, in comparison to the figure of 66.7 percent obtained before the test. Obesity was cited by 41.1 percent, and cardiovascular ailments by 29.2 percent, as against 35.6 percent by the control group.

As we well know, behavioral changes are more difficult to achieve, especially in the area of nutritional habits. This is why theoretical and practical measures must be aimed precisely at bringing about such changes in nutritional behavior, in the drawing up of menus and in the preparation of foods, on the basis of provision of correct information and a system of understandable and persuasive arguments, so as to arrive ultimately at the goal of changing attitudes toward the mode of nutrition.

The concept of "general nonspecific resistance." Under the specific conditions of work in the artificial fiber industry, the presence of harmful factors in the working environment, the general nonspecific resistance of the organism plays an especially important part in prevention of sickness. Analysis of the extent to which the subjects are familiar with and apply methods of increasing the general resistance indicate that before the test only 5.3 percent of the persons interviewed were familiar with the concept and the methods of correct application. The figure of 50.0 percent was obtained after the test. Significant increases were also obtained in the values defining the behavioral aspects, especially as regards the importance of strengthening the organism by means of natural factors, a behavior which 90.3 percent of the subjects stated after the test that they followed. The rest of the elements were less familiar, although the number who recited the components doubled following administration of the integrated educational system.

Consumption of alcoholic beverages. Under the specific conditions of the working environment in the artificial fiber industry, consumption of alcoholic beverages becomes a factor potentiating occupational hazards. Comparative analysis of the practices determined in the experimental group reveal important changes in the structure of consumption, ones marking a positive evolution in comparison to the control group. Thus, the number of non-drinkers increased after administration of the educational influence from 38.2 percent to 53.5 percent, there being simultaneously a decrease of 11.9 percent in the number of daily drinkers. The percentage of daily drinkers of wine and beer nevertheless remains fairly high (66.7 percent). This problem continues to be an educational priority.

As regards the motivation for consumption, it remained subjective after administration of the medical educational influence. Thus, 74.6 percent stated that they drink "for the pleasure of it" and 25.4 percent "on special occasions." There was, however, a decrease in the experimental group in the percentage of persons who justify consumption as necessary for "increasing the appetite" or because of its "prophylactic role."

The consequences of chronic alcoholism were also better known and more correctly stated by a larger number of persons in the group subjected to the controlled educational influence. The options of alcoholic beverage

consumers are also significant. The number of subjects who elect to give up such consumption rose from 19.2 percent to 38.8 percent after the test, and the number of persons who will reduce consumption increased from 9.6 percent to 23.9 percent.

Tobacco consumption. Analysis of the data obtained after the test reveals a 3.1 percent decline in the number of smokers; a marked decrease in the number of heavy smokers is also observed. The proportion of subjects smoking fewer than 10 cigarettes per day rose from 47.1 percent to 56 percent, while the percentage of those smoking 21 to 30 cigarettes daily dropped 5.1 percent. In this case as well we observe an interesting pattern as regards decisions to reduce or give up smoking. The proportion of persons electing to reduce the number of cigarettes smoked rose to 43.6 percent following administration of the integrated educational system, while the percentage of persons who intend to give up this habit paradoxically dropped from 23.3 percent to 12.8 percent. This decline is probably to be explained by a more responsible attitude toward the formulation of answers and decisions as such.

On the subject of use of the free time budget, we have these proportions of persons who use this time for outdoor exercise to report: 34.7 percent of the subjects devote 1 to 2 hours to this health-promoting behavior and 16 percent devote 2 to 3 hours. This is an especially encouraging finding, especially since the working environment of these persons contains a number of risk factors which are moderated by outdoor exercise.

In conclusion we may say that, on the basis of the data reflecting the general medical education of workers at the Braila Artificial Fiber Complex, following administration of an integrated educational program we find that in all the fields studied, with rare exceptions, the educational influence exerted has led to elevation of the medical education level as regards both the stock of information acquired and the sphere of behavior.

## II. Level of Specific Medical Education

The progress of specific medical education has been monitored as regards knowledge of the hazards specific to different work sites permitting moderation or elimination of the harmful effects of these hazards. Knowledge and control of these hazards through development of active attitudes and behavior make up in broad outline the sphere of the concept of specific medical education.

The first question asked the subjects was aimed at establishing the extent of knowledge of chemical substances used in technological processes which are hazardous to health. The answers given illustrate a high level of information. After the test, more than 95 percent of the subjects in the experimental group cited acids as hazardous substances, while 96 percent named viscose fiber. These high values were also recorded in connection with the harmful effect of these substances when splashed on the body. The percentage of persons answering correctly by citing damage to the skin rose from 94.3 percent before the test to 99.1 percent after it, and those citing damage to the eye from 70 to 84 percent.

As regards measures taken to prevent contact with the body, the proportion of persons familiar with the value and components of protective equipment rose from 87.3 to 97.2 percent in the experimental group as a result of the medical education administered, and there was a significant increase in the percentage of subjects stating the need for watertightness of the equipment, from 15.8 percent before the test to 61.1 percent after it. Although the advisability of wearing protective boots, goggles, and gloves was cited by almost all members of the experimental group, and the level of provision of protective equipment is good, a fairly large number of workers still do not always wear gloves and goggles, deliberately ignoring the measures taken to avoid contact with the harmful substances.

The first aid measures to be taken in the event of splashing with chemical substances are known by varying percentages of workers: 61 percent cite the usefulness of applying a 2-percent bicarbonate solution in the event that various acids are splashed on the skin, as against 35.8 percent before the test. The acetic acid solution was named by 50.1 percent of the members of the experimental group after the test, in comparison to the reference figure of 41.8 percent in the control group. An appreciably similar situation is found in the case of use of the boric acid solution to rinse the eyes. The conclusion is that there is need for further reinforcement of knowledge to inculcate the necessary habits, an appropriate mode of behavior, to mitigate the effects of splashing through a good knowledge of first aid measures.

Another section covered harmful substances resulting from technological processes and their characteristics. The data obtained reveal a relatively low level of knowledge. The post-test figures obtained indicate that 97.2 percent are familiar with the properties of hydrogen sulfide and 96.3 percent with those of carbon disulfide; both sets of figures are higher than those obtained before the test.

The symptoms of carbon disulfide poisoning are also fairly well known. The group subjected to the influence of the controlled educational process registered an increase in knowledge ranging from 10 to 20 percent relative to the level before the test.

Another problem is that of the data relating to measures for prevention of carbon disulfide and hydrogen sulfide poisoning. Although the figures obtained show that a very large number of persons are aware of the importance of closing the hot flues of the spinning machines, many workers out of laziness still keep the flues open while at work. Although the proportion of persons who keep the flues closed has increased slightly, it still was only 34.1 percent in the experimental group after the test. Closing the flues is known to reduce the escape of toxic gases from the spinning machines by nearly 60 percent. The problem must continue to receive priority in education.

Measures to eliminate the risk of explosion are highly important, in view of the fact that nearly all the substances resulting from the technological processes exhibit a high coefficient of explosion in contact with air. The data obtained after the test reveal a slight increase in the degree of

medical knowledge, which is more pronounced in the area of adoption of special protective measures.

The data on specific medical knowledge reveal a higher level of information, probably also due to the fact that the set of problems dealt with in the study concern aspects of technical education holding the attention and interest of the workers from the outset.

The influence of the integrated educational system has resulted in elevation of the level of medical knowledge, both general and specific, but the disparity still persisting between the level of knowledge and behavior calls for continued application of the educational influence to reinforce the health-promoting behavior already adopted and to bring about the necessary changes in behavior. The data obtained argue for educational systems which, after being applied on an experimental basis, have shown their value in the form of heightened influence, justify their widespread application, and consequently call for measures for their duplication and local dissemination.

6115

CSO: 2700/187

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

CHEMICAL MINISTRY APPOINTMENTS--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that the following comrades are appointed deputy ministers of the chemical industry: Nicolae Barbulescu, Aristina Parota, and Petre Raiciu. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 40, 10 Aug 85 p 16]

PETROCHEMICAL MINISTRY APPOINTMENTS--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that the following comrades are appointed deputy ministers of the petrochemical industry: Mihai Paraschiv, Dumitru Nicolaescu, and Valeriu Momanu. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 40, 10 Aug 85 p 16]

REMOVAL OF MINISTRY OFFICIALS--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ion Licu is relieved of his position as state secretary in the Ministry of the Machine-Building Industry and Comrade Vasile Baltac is relieved of his position as state secretary in the Ministry of the Machine-Building Industry. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I no 37, 29 Jul 85 p 24]

CSO: 2700/212

YUGOSLAVIA

LC'S LEADING IDEOPOLITICAL ROLE IN ARMY EMPHASIZED

AU281242 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2406, 22 Aug 85 p 5

[Dr B. Sikimic commentary: "Specificities Should Not Be Overemphasized"]

[Text] Communist parties differ from bourgeois parties and other organizations, among other ways, by the fact that they found their organization and activity on the principle of democratic centralism. Without it, the party of the workers class, cannot realize its role as vanguard. Lack of discipline, anarchy, factional struggles, bureaucratization, and, in multinational countries, the federalization of the party and its ideological and political disintegration would be its inevitable fate. The very point of democratic centralism is to free the party of all that.

Therefore, to call into question the existence of the principle of the LC in fact means to call into question the existence of the LC as a political organization.

From the fact that democratic centralism puts in the foreground the obligation of the minority to defer to the majority with a view to ensuring ideological and action unity, one cannot conclude (as is sometimes done even in our country) that hierarchical and even a bureaucratic-centralist types of organization and activities are stressed a priori in the LCY.

Democratization in the LC cannot be seen as a question of procedure, a possibility to have free discussion about aims, but as democracy that serves the buildup of socialist society in the way it is established by the LCY program. In 1967, Veljko Vlahovic [leading Yugoslav Communist, Tito's associate, died 1975] wrote: "The term democratism includes the obligation of communists to work more actively and to participate to a maximum extent in all stages of the adoption and implementation of LCY decisions." And about centralism he said: "This should mean that all activities of the membership, organizations, and organs must merge into a unity of strength and will...however, it should be clear to us that this united strength is not created through a mechanical union, through prescribed or imposed discipline, or through the hierarchical division of the membership. If we reject these phenomena from our work, we will build our unity with a higher awareness and will be more efficient and incomparably firmer."

Such a theoretical and methodological approach possesses a permanent topicality and enables one to understand better the LC organization in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], because it is active in a special environment which has been built on the principles of subordination and of command by a single entity [jednostaresinstvo], and where the commanding relation is the basic social relation.

The "specificity of command by a single entity and of subordination," that is, the "specificity" of the conditions the LC has in the YPA, is sometimes over-emphasized. One should, therefore, insist on maintaining the clearness of the attitude that the LC has been and remains an independent revolutionary organization and the leading ideopolitical force in the army. The commanding relation is an instrument of the state, of the workers class rule, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and there are precise regulations on how the class should use that instrument in defending and protecting the achievements and prospects of the revolution. What is involved here is the relation between the party and the state, and both party and state are revolutionary instruments of the class. This is the essence, and one should always start from that in examining the activities of the LC in the YPA.

The LC is directing the commanding relation in the YPA and not vice versa. There are, however, other instruments of influence upon the commanding relation--cadre councils, collegiums, sociopolitical organizations, and so on--serving to prevent its bureaucratization. The LC in the YPA should develop the awareness that subordination and command by a single entity must be implemented completely, but also the awareness that they cannot successfully function without appropriate direction by the LC. It is impossible to achieve the political unity of the Army and its capability and combat effectiveness at the desired and necessary level, without the political atmosphere that is created in the Army and in every unit by the LC and the subjective factor in general. It is obvious that bare subordination measures would soon exhaust their strength.

CSO: 2800/432

YUGOSLAVIA

VARIOUS TYPES OF 'PRIVILEGE' EXAMINED

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 3 Aug 85 p 11

[Article by Emir Habul: "Privilege: Life on Easy Street"]

[Text] There is an old British saying which goes: "All power corrupts. Absolute power corrupts the most [sic]." In all latitudes and in all systems there is "corrupt power," which also includes the seizing of various privileges. To be sure, privileges do not always occur in the same forms. Sometimes they are an integral part of life, generally accepted and legalized, while in other places, it is true, they live far outside the law, concealing themselves from the curious eyes of the public.

In our context reflections might run like this: for a man to see some privilege, he does not need to be in a position of power, say, a "minister in the government," as power is often identified in our context, but only to be in a tempting situation, close to the honey and the unprotected resources of society. An old story about the hodza and the pilav provides a good illustration of those tempting conditions. The hodza imagined a story about how pilav was being distributed free somewhere. Seeing people rush to take advantage, he came to believe in his own story and stood in line.

Diplomats and Customs

A story about Yugoslav diplomats and their privileges has been topical in the newspapers quite recently. Yugoslav diplomats are seeking more favorable customs exemptions than other citizens returning from employment abroad! To be specific, it involves an initiative by the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs (addressed to the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Trade) for amendment and supplementation of the Customs Law. The basic purpose of that proposal, according to the newspapers, is to allow all employees of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs employed abroad to import household goods up to an unlimited value, which, incidentally, present legislation does not allow. The press referred to this request or initiative as a "petition for privileges."

In early February a delegate query from Dusan Pekic in the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly briefly aroused the domestic public. That is, this delegate put the question of how it is that housing credits for a term of 20 years and an interest rate of 3 percent can be extended to federal office



holders and administrative officials. Here again, of course, we are dealing with a kind of privilege.

Although unanimous agreement has not yet been reached in interpreting the term "privilege," it is obvious that privileges do exist, that they branch out horizontally and vertically at all levels, that it is difficult to draw a line that separates certain privileges from unlawfulness. Incidentally, this is in fact confirmed by a sizable report of the republic public defender of self-management law which deals with about 40 separate cases of preferential treatment and unlawful privileges in the use of social resources in Bosnia-Herzegovina. "The violations of public property referred to," says Branko Baros, deputy republic public defender of self-management law, "are specific for two reasons: first, because they have been legalized in a way (or at least semilegalized), since they are based on decisions which arise out of general self-management acts or the decisions of administrative and other bodies; and second, because the participants in the violations are very numerous, in some places they are actually or potentially entire labor forces, while in some places they are only a particular category or privileged group of workers."

### Free Trips

The public defenders cite various preferences given in public transportation as an illustrative example of privileges: This "list" includes even "company passes," that is, the legalized privileges which railroad personnel have had since time immemorial to make 2 free trips and 10 trips at a 90-percent reduction. However, it also bothers the public defenders that members of the immediate family are entitled to one free trip and five trips with that same reduction. The situation is similar in highway transportation as well, though indeed it applies only to the buses of the firm in which the workers are employed. It is most likely that calling the railroad people to account will evoke opposing opinions since the question of these passes has in fact been regulated by international conventions. But the question remains of who and to what extent they can benefit, since they represent a heavy burden on social resources.

Individual examples are still more interesting. Venera Rebac, public defender in Capljina, gives an illustrative example from Neum. A special decision of the opstina assembly provided a rent subsidy of 2,000 dinars a month for all personnel of the opstina administration. Or again, the Self-Managing Community of Interest for Housing in Neum adopted a decision reducing the secretary's rent by the amount of 7,330 dinars.

It has long been known that soccer players are privileged in various ways, but only the Bugojno public defender Luka Jokic mentions them. Many soccer players have taken employment in that town (mainly regardless of the qualifications). However, the problem is not that the soccer players are employed, but that they are receiving their pay without coming to work. Certain privileges have also been legalized in the work organization "Spedicija." They have a regulation there to the effect that employees who build their own house can travel at a reduction of 40 percent. In the "Transport" Basic Organization of Associated Labor in the Complex Organization of Associated Labor IMPO the same kind of travel is entirely free. There are examples like that in all opstinas.

A unique regulation in UNIS on the awarding of scholarships gives privileges to the children of employees of that collective. Ratko Babic, public defender in Vogosca, notes that other applicants competing for a scholarship have an unequal status compared to the children of UNIS employees, who at the outset get a certain number of points which guarantee them a scholarship.

#### From Telephones to Summer Vacations

It is a deeply held opinion that many privileges have become accepted, which is incidentally confirmed by the public defenders, and some have even become perquisites of professional management positions and other official positions. It is even tiresome to talk about use of an official automobile for private purposes (to and from work, for the family and excursions, and so on), although this is perhaps the most widespread and visible form of privilege. Legalization of the use of public tools (in Posusje), payment for a private telephone (Vares, Prijedor) under the cover of more effective communication on business matters, bringing electricity into private homes, at public cost, of course, and so on, is less visible. Anniversary awards for loyalty to the collective are also becoming more and more common, but whether the worker will receive a watch or VCR, a book or a collection of gold coins depends on whether he is an ordinary mortal or a factor of influence. In collectives where money is squandered the workers get free summer vacations (Doboj, Tuzla, Zavidovići, Fojnica ...). What is worse, this is sometimes interpreted as socialism, although in essence it constitutes a squandering of public property.

Certain cases of the squandering of public money might rather be classified as alienation of public property than privilege. Last year gasoline consumption was exceeded by 12,120 liters by only 3 drivers of "Neretvatrans" of Capljina. The picture one can see on the Bosna River not far from Ilidza is still more drastic. A father with a bulldozer and a son with a truck (public property, of course) dig gravel on their own account and sell it. They collect 3,000 dinars per trip, including digging and transport, and at a rough calculation earn about 60,000 dinars a day. The father, who is exhausted, takes a break and goes off into the shade, and the angry son shouts: "Why do you take a break when you are making 3 million a day, and in an enterprise you would be working for 50,000 dinars (old dinars)?"

#### "Fat" Per Diems

At the lower level privileges border on unlawfulness if they are not outright illegal. At the higher level this is done more elegantly. For instance, individuals travel abroad at their own desire and receive fat per diems in foreign exchange, and while they are there they do not pay either for their housing or meals, using their influence and benefits when they visit a construction project or business office. Last year one out of every four employees in a Mostar organization of associated labor traveled abroad, and it is difficult to believe that this was all in the interest of business. Another way is to use position and influence in obtaining credit on favorable terms, usually for weekend cottages or to hire builders at a reduced rate. Such people often have the privilege of being protected against any sort of public criticism.

It is also a privilege to change dwellings when the time comes for them to be painted, to find attractive jobs for children and other members of the family, to obtain treatment from physicians, to get favors from butchers and people who do expert services.... The sociologists warn that the higher concentration of power in one center, the greater are the opportunities for abuse.

No one ought to obtain any sort of privilege from public property. However, exploitation occurs on the basis of public power and exchanges that do not involve money. Social influence can also be a refined form of bribe. Individuals in certain positions need not have high salaries, but they still have influence. A separate sect of people is created who can do everything--obtain jobs, intervene, purchase automobiles without waiting, etc. That is why a favor to a friend can constitute discrimination. People look for connections or give bribes for something they are not entitled to, or they are entitled to it, but they cannot obtain it legally. These "chivalrous" crimes exist everywhere, but quite commonly they are intertwined with the mentality of the social climber or the erosion of ethics. Radomir Lukic, member of the academy, refers in his writings to the differing scale of moral values and indicates the occurrence of group ownership instead of social ownership, and in such a situation it is the social climber who gets along best and finds his bearings.

Dr Josip Zupanov, the well-known Yugoslav sociologist, explains these phenomena this way: "People undergo change in their development. Many went into the National Liberation Struggle without any thought of material gain. After the war society underwent a change in structure. Trusted people came into positions which put them in contact with privileges inaccessible to others. And as soon as anyone accepted benefits as something to which he was normally entitled, and when he became convinced that he had done something for which he should be paid, then he crossed the Rubicon.

#### The Unconsciousness of Consciousness

A low level of consciousness, disrupted ethics, the mentality of consumerism, and lax protection of public property are the principal reasons for privileges of various kinds. All the research shows that personal property is well-preserved, but that social property mainly has ideological value, and that sometimes people do not even distinguish group ownership from social ownership. An anecdote portrays this illustratively:

In the fifties the director was utterly unable to explain to the workers what self-management was: that they were the owners of the means of production, the masters of their fate, and so on.

"Does that mean that the factory is ours now?" the workers asked.

"Of course, now we are the bosses," the director answered.

"Then the best thing is for us to sell it," one group proposed.

"Then where will we work?" the director asked in surprise.

"For those who buy the factory," the proponents readily answered.

Even now it would not be bad to explain the nature of social ownership and the need to protect it. Especially since our society and the party have been fighting against privileges throughout the entire postwar period. After the war the diplomatic stores were opened for the privilege, and they were very quickly closed. Up until last year federal officials had the privilege of waiting 6 years for assignment and receiving their pay. However, even now some of the privileged are offering fierce resistance.

The words of Branko Baros best illustrate how common privileges are: "This is not even a partial exposure, since the phenomenon is very widespread."

The time has come to begin the cutback. This is hard on some people, as it always is when someone has to give up a long-standing habit. Incidentally, Krleza himself said that ideal people live only in encyclopedias.

7045

CSO: 2800/407

YUGOSLAVIA

PRAVDA DOWNPLAYS ROLE OF YUGOSLAV ANTIFASCISTS DURING WWII

LD261323 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1240 GMT 26 Aug 85

["PRAVDA Plays Down Yugoslav People's Liberation Army"--TANJUG headline]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Aug (TANJUG)--The leading Soviet daily PRAVDA describes in its latest issue the Yugoslav People's Liberation War as a "popular resistance movement," equalizing it with developments in Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary towards the end of the Second World War.

The article, written by Prof Pankov, puts in the same group the antifascist movements of Yugoslavia, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Hungary, overlooking the fact that a major part of Yugoslavia's territory was free about the middle of the war, at the time of the Stalingrad battle, and that Yugoslavia had hundreds of thousands of fighters who had by then put out of action about the same number of occupation soldiers.

The PRAVDA article points out especially the sacrifices suffered by French, Czechoslovak and German Communists while mentioning the Yugoslav ones only in passing. It is well known, however, that about 50,000 Yugoslav Communists and 80,000 members of the Young Communists League died during the war.

This is not the first time that the Soviet press makes no difference between the countries which launched antifascist struggle from the outset of the war, and those which turned against the occupying troops only in the autumn of 1944. It was believed, though, that this practice would be ended following last May's report by Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

Addressing the solemn session held on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of victory over fascism, Gorbachev clearly singled out Yugoslavia's historic contribution during the Second World War and said that the Soviet Union would never forget the firmness and courage of the Yugoslav peoples and their people's liberation struggle.

CSO: 2800/432

YUGOSLAVIA

WRITER, STIPE SUVAR COMMENT ON WRITERS' CONGRESS

AU022055 [Editorial Report] Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian No 1808 on 25 August 1985 on pages 32-34 carries a 1,300-word undated interview given by writer Slobodan Selenic to Teodor Andjelic which includes an answer to a question on the 19th Congress of the Yugoslav Writers Association held in Novi Sad 18-20 April. Belgrade NIN No 1791 on 28 April 1985 on page 11 carries a 300-word article by J. Grizelj which includes a quotation from a statement made by Stipe Suvar, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Croatia, on the same congress.

In the interview carried by NIN on 25 August, when asked by Andjelic about the writers' congress, Slobodan Selenic says the following:

"I did not wish to participate at the writers' congress because I was worried about two things. I was afraid that the congress would turn into a contest of who can spit the farthest, the game that has become slightly unattractive since it ceased to be dangerous. My other fear was that at least some of the eight state delegations or individuals in them would start quarreling and thereby deepen the gap that has already been dug out deeply between our national cultures.

"None of that happened. If one disregards the introductory report [given by Kole Casule, Macedonian writer and then president of the Yugoslav Writers Association], which was balanced in a politicized manner, one sees that prevailing among the speakers in the discussion were wise and conscientious people who were concerned--in an honest and fine manner--about the crisis of our social and political system. Even politicians--except for the notorious commander of a company of soldiers--have seen that it is indispensable from the standpoint of intellectual hygiene to listen to other people's opinions however contrary they may be.

"Neither was there any national bickering. In a certain way, the congress gave the right lesson to politicians. If only our republican and provincial delegations, in their stubborn and useless quarrels, could show the extent of wisdom and openness one can find in the behavior of the majority of participants of this significant congress."

In his article in NIN of 28 April 1985, J. Grizelj cites a report carried by Split NEDELJN DALMACIJA on 12 April 1985 on Stipe Suvar's visit to Imotsko

and speech to the political aktiv there. The quoted passage includes the following:

"Everything he said was nice, and then he was asked numerous questions by the people present. Among these was the question of by what, how, and to what extent the writers who are holding a congress in Novi Sad can harm Yugoslav socialist society. True to his ways, Stipe replies briefly and picturesquely: "No one can harm this country, including a handful of conceited writers. One should not underestimate them either, but they can be defeated any time by a single company of soldiers." In order to avoid mixing the Army into those literary matters the secretary of the LC Committee added that, "if necessary, can be done by Ilija's territorial defense."

Following this quotation, Grizelj concludes his article with the following passage:

"Judging by the reports on the Novi Sad writers' congress, it seems that there has been no end--at least so far--for an intervention by the Army or territorial defense. However, this recipe given by Suvar, since he is an expert in those matters, remains to us as a valuable guideline.

CSO: 2800/432

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

SMALL-DENOMINATION COINS--Belgrade, 17 Aug (TANJUG)--The National Bank of Yugoslavia Board of Governors has taken a decision to withdraw from circulation all coins of a nominal value below 1 dinar. The withdrawal is to start on 1 September and end through the end of the year. The exchange of the coins still remaining in circulation after the end of the year will be possible through 31 March, 1986. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 0026 GMT 17 Aug 85 LD]

SFRY-PRC ASTRONAUTICS COOPERATION--Beijing, 28 Aug (TANJUG)--Astronauts of China and Yugoslavia are analysing possibilities for mutual cooperation in astronautics. The Chinese side already has experience in this field because China has "stepped" into the space, while Yugoslavia's experience is far more limited and primarily relates to work with the young and development of amateurism. Talks on cooperation were conducted in Beijing, Harbin and Shanghai between 16 and 28 August. Yugoslav delegates at the talks are secretary and presidency member of the Yugoslav Federation of Astronautic and Rocket Organizations Marijan Zidaric and Vladimir Horvat, as well as internationally recognized expert Milivoj Jugin, who received a special invitation. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1432 GMT 28 Aug 85 LD]

CSO: 2800/432

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